

# THE Anti-Slavery Reporter

Published under the sanction of the  
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Series 4.  
Vol. XIV., No. 1. }

JANUARY & FEBRUARY, 1894.

{ PRICE 2d. POST FREE  
{ GRATIS TO SUBSCRIBERS

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PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,  
55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

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# The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

*[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]*

## ANNUAL SUMMARY. 1893.

IN reviewing the work of the past year, the first place must undoubtedly be given to the efforts made by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY for procuring the abolition of Slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar. Although, up to the present time, the Society has not been fully successful in its efforts, the work will not be relaxed, for it will be its duty to oppose every form of Slave labour, under whatever name it may be disguised, in all British Protectorates.

The report will be, as usual, divided into headings, for the convenience of our readers.

### The General Act of the Brussels Conference.

IT having been decided that all Slave-trade reports from the various Governments who were signatories to the General Act should be forwarded to the International Bureau at Brussels, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY applied to the Bureau for the information which it had formerly received direct from the English Foreign Office. The president of the Bureau referred the Society back to its own Government, to whom alone the reports could be forwarded by the Bureau. The first issue of the Slave-trade reports, when at length received, was found to be very meagre in comparison with the papers that were formerly issued by our Foreign Office, and this renders the work of the Society more difficult than when it was in receipt of fuller official information.

In our last Annual Summary we congratulated the public on the establishment of an International Bureau at Zanzibar for the suppression of the Slave-trade, as decreed by the General Act of Brussels, and also upon the fact that under the presidency of the British Consul-General, and the vice-presidency of the French Consul, one might hope that the abuse of the flag of France might be summarily stopped. It will be seen, however, when we come to speak of Zanzibar, that such hope has been entirely delusive, the Bureau having apparently turned out to be a mere Maritime Court of Registration.

## Zanzibar.

### SLAVERY IN A BRITISH PROTECTORATE.

LAST year's Summary showed that the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY had been in close correspondence with LORD SALISBURY, the then Foreign Secretary, respecting the abolition of the legal status of Slavery in Zanzibar. His Lordship expressed the opinion that as the Sultan was a party to the Brussels Act, this desirable result would not be long delayed. Those who have watched the action of the Society during the past year will have seen that the EARL OF ROSEBERY, who succeeded LORD SALISBURY at the Foreign Office, has received several long and earnest memorials from the Society, calling upon Her Majesty's Government to decree the immediate abolition of the legal status of Slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar. To those who have not carefully studied the question, the following short statement of facts may be of interest.

In 1890 an arrangement was entered into between Great Britain and Germany, by which England was to hand over Heligoland to Germany, and in return it was agreed that she should assume the protectorate of the territories of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, excepting that portion on the mainland which had previously been taken over by Germany. Thus it came to pass that the *islands* of Zanzibar and Pemba came under the protection of Great Britain, both of these islands being full of Slaves, who have been imported there in contravention of the treaties entered into between the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR and the British Government in 1873-1876. The position, therefore, stands thus: Great Britain virtually rules in the islands and on the mainland of Zanzibar, the present Sultan whom she has set up being merely a puppet, who accepts £10,000 a year for the privilege of doing nothing, except that in his name Mohammedan law is allowed to run. By this law Slavery is recognised as a legal institution, and the Slave himself is degraded to the position of a beast of burden, with few of the rights of humanity. By allowing this law to be carried out in the courts at Zanzibar, Great Britain assumes the position of a Slave-holding power, and as it is estimated that the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba contain something like 300,000 Slaves, we venture to think that the retaining this vast population in Slavery for the benefit of a mixed Arab population is an action that will not meet the approval of the British public when the facts are clearly laid before it. *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* for November-December, 1893, contains a long memorial addressed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to



the EARL OF ROSEBERY upon the question of Slavery and the Slave-trade in Zanzibar, and concludes by asking for an interview with his Lordship, in order that the various points raised in the documents may be further discussed. In politely declining to receive the deputation, the EARL OF ROSEBERY stated that the question of abolition in Zanzibar was incessantly before him, and we trust that in a very short time the utterance of public opinion which has lately taken place on various occasions will convince his Lordship that the British people will not permit the continuance of Slavery in any of the territories under the rule or enjoying the protection of Her Majesty the Queen.

PRISON IN ZANZIBAR.—The attention of the Society having been called to the terrible insanitation of the old fort used as a prison, and to the death of several Slave-traders who had been immured therein, strong representations were made by the Committee to the Foreign Office, with the result that the Sultan acceded to the request made by the late Sir GERALD PORTAL that the old prison should be closed and a new and more healthy one erected on a neighbouring island.

SLAVE-TRADE IN ZANZIBAR.—The continuance of the institution of *Slavery* under British protection naturally induces the Arabs to carry on the Slave-trade which they have always found so profitable, and in which they expect to be still successful, owing to the facilities with which they are able to obtain the French flag, and the impunity with which young Slaves can be kidnapped in the very streets of Zanzibar. This latter fact has been publicly admitted by Mr. RENNELL RODD in a letter to LORD ROSEBERY, complaining of statements published by the Secretary of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in regard to the increase of the Slave-trade in Zanzibar. This correspondence has already been published in *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and can scarcely be said to have strengthened the position of the acting authorities in Zanzibar.

The French flag is a difficulty which it appears impossible to overcome under the existing *régime*. It is well known that France will not allow any Slave dhow carrying her flag to be boarded at sea by any foreign ship of war. As her flag can be obtained for a few pounds, it is largely used by the crafty shippers of human cargoes, and it is only occasionally that a vessel can be boarded in the harbour itself, as was done a few months ago. The result of this prompt action on the part of the British authorities was not very encouraging. An Arab dhow loading Slaves under the French flag was captured in the *harbour* of Zanzibar, and a large number of Slaves were set free. The Slaver and his men, instead of being tried in the Zanzibar Court, were handed over by the British authorities to the French Consul, much to the surprise of

the general public. The French Consul naturally took advantage of the laxity shown by the authorities and sent the vessel and its crew to Réunion for adjudication.

When one considers the difficulty of obtaining evidence in a distant port, it is not very surprising that the authorities in Réunion (not a particularly anti-Slavery island!) dismissed the case against the captain, and allowed him to sail away, probably to collect another cargo. This deplorable state of things must continue to exist until British law is made paramount in Zanzibar.

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### **Uganda.**

OWING to the untimely death of Sir GERALD PORTAL and the delay in presenting his report to Parliament there is nothing further to report upon the position of affairs in Uganda, but the past year has been marked by the publication of Captain LUGARD'S interesting and voluminous history of his mission to that country, without a careful study of which it would be very difficult thoroughly to master the question. In any case the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will strongly protest against the people of Uganda being made subject to Zanzibar, so long as Mohammedan law is allowed to run in that Protectorate, as Slavery would be then rendered legal in a country where at present it has no legal status, except the will of a despot.

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### **Morocco.**

THERE appears to be no diminution in the Slave-trade in this most difficult and unhappy country. Barbarism presents a comparatively unbroken front, which the group of European Ministers Plenipotentiary settled on the far-off seaboard, appear unable to break through. United effort on the part of Representatives of the Powers would do more to obtain the amelioration of the people of Morocco and the abolition of the disgraceful trade in human beings carried on within sight of Europe than any single high-handed action such as we have recently seen shown by Spain. Indeed, the action of Spain, if she succeeds in obtaining a payment of a million pounds sterling, as has been demanded, will only rivet more firmly for many years the iron yoke under which the people groan.

We have already reported the arrival in Zanzibar of Mr. ERNEST M. SATOW, as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Morocco, in succession to Sir CHARLES EUAN SMITH. Mr. SATOW has for many years been a member of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and we feel convinced that when he sees a suitable opportunity

of joining hands with some of his colleagues he will not fail to impress upon the Sultan the necessity of deferring in some way to the Anti-Slavery feeling which has taken such deep hold on the principal European countries.

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### **West Africa.**

A CONSIDERABLE increase in the Slave-trade has been reported in various parts of West Africa, especially in those districts somewhat vaguely termed the Western Soudan. This state of things will be more easily dealt with when the delimitations of the different European Spheres of Influence are more correctly laid down. It is to be hoped that the three Great Powers, England, France, and Germany will insist upon the Slave-trade being abolished and take steps for providing that Slave-hunters escaping from one territory shall not be allowed to carry their ill-gotten booty into a neighbouring territory with impunity.

The attention of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was called in the middle of last year, to a threatened repeal of an Order in Council which would prejudicially affect the interests of British subjects in portions of the colony hitherto protected, and would have the effect of stimulating the Slave traffic by the kidnapping of natives. This state of things having been represented to the Colonial Office by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY the gratifying answer was shortly received from the MARQUIS OF RIPON that Her Majesty's Government had decided not to repeal the Order in Council, and that the Colonial Government were fully alive to the necessity of taking steps to prevent any traffic in Slaves within British territory. For the prompt action taken by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY a cordial vote of thanks was forwarded to that body by the native British subjects immediately affected thereby.

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### **Nyassaland.**

MR. H. H. JOHNSTON, C.B., Her Majesty's Commissioner in Nyassaland, has had much trouble with the Slave-raiders in the territory he administers during the past year. There have been a good many sharp skirmishes with the Slave-hunters, and one of the most active and cruel of these chieftains has been killed; but we believe that his successor still gives considerable trouble to the British Commissioner.

We understand that Mr. JOHNSTON will shortly return home on leave, when fuller details of the condition of Nyassaland may be expected.

In this country, as in all newly-acquired lands, the utmost watchfulness will be required to see that no form of native labour shall be in

any way made to cause an encouragement of the Slave-trade, or that the labourer himself should, under another name, be virtually in the condition of a Slave. A system of pawn Slavery is not unknown in Asiatic countries, and it will be the duty of Her Majesty's Government to prevent anything like this specious form of servitude in all British protected countries in Africa. At the same time, we are glad to believe that considerable success has been achieved in the matter of *free* native labour by several of the enterprising colonists and mission bodies in Nyassaland.

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### **Egypt.**

THERE is little to report respecting the Slave-trade in Egypt except that an attempt was made on the part of some of the native ministers to abolish the Slave-trade department and put an end to the excellent work that Colonel SCHAEFER BEY has for so many years carried on. By his watchfulness, with the aid of his subordinate officers, the Slave-trade has been almost extinguished throughout Egypt, and may be said to be reduced to merely a few cases of smuggling. The abolition of the Slave-trade department which would only save some £12,000 to the country would, certainly, be followed by an influx of fresh Slaves into Egypt from all the outlying borders. Happily this retrograde proposal was not carried out.

THE HOME FOR FREED WOMEN SLAVES at Cairo is still doing much useful work. In February, 1893, the Treasurer and Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, being in Egypt, were able to investigate the condition of the "Home," and bore witness to the continual exertions of Mrs. CREWE for the protection of the poor inmates and for their future provision in life. Major WINGATE, the treasurer of the Home, showed the visitors much courtesy, and spoke highly of the beneficial effect of this useful Charity, which has been carried on for many years under the auspices of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Lord CROMER, Her Majesty's Representative in Cairo, and President of the Slaves' Home, kindly arranged to present the Representatives to the young KHEDIVE, who expressed pleasure in hearing how greatly his father was interested in the work of the Society—and of which he also fully approved.

The difficulty of preventing the transit of Slaves in small parties through the Suez Canal still causes much trouble to Colonel SCHAEFER BEY and his colleagues. It is so easy for Turks and Moors returning from their Mecca pilgrimage to bring half-a-dozen Slaves as personal attendants or as wives, that the sharpest eye is apt to be deceived. In



fact, we heard of cases of a man going through a form of marriage with Slave women in order to smuggle them on board British or other vessels, and afterwards sell them in Constantinople or Tangiers. This is one of the evils of Polygamy.

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### Tripoli.

THE remarks above made respecting the carrying of small parties of Slaves by British and other steamers applies equally to Tripoli, a country under Turkish rule. By treaty with England the Slave-trade is illegal; but information received by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY proved incontestably that a very considerable surreptitious Slave-trade was carried on between several African ports in Tripoli, and Crete and Constantinople.

Much of this information came through the Anti-Slavery Society of Rome, which was able to trace some of these parties of Slaves to vessels that had actually arrived, *viâ* Malta, without being challenged. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY memorialised the Foreign Office respecting the smuggling of Slaves, and although the officials were inclined to believe that the allegations made were either exaggerated or untrue, they were compelled, later in the year, to publish despatches from the British Consul in Benghazi, which entirely bore out the earlier statements of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and showed that the shipment of Slaves was still going on even more openly than had hitherto been the case. This subject still engages the attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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### Polynesian Labour Traffic.

THE efforts of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY have, for many years, been directed to the question of servile labour in the sugar plantations of Australia. The abuses connected with the labour traffic from Polynesia have been too often stated in these columns to require repetition. The renewal of the Act permitting the continued depletion of the islands by Queensland labour vessels was a great disappointment to all Anti-Slavery people, not only in England but in Australia. Much evidence has lately been brought forward by Dr. PATON and others showing that the much-vaunted Clauses which were inserted in the new Act for the prevention of former atrocities are in fact found to be utterly valueless.

A very long memorial lately forwarded by Dr. PATON to the MARQUIS OF RIPON, proving the futility of these so-called safeguards has, we believe, never been answered. The ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will not fail to keep a close watch upon the condition of the servile labourer in the sugar plantations of Australia.

## World's Fair, Chicago.

AT a Congress held at Chicago, papers were read on various subjects, the question of Slavery not being forgotten. In response to special invitation the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY forwarded a paper to be read entitled *What is England doing to suppress Slavery and the Slave-trade*. It is understood that this will be printed in the History of the World's Fair, and will be circulated throughout America.

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## Obituary.

DURING 1893 death has removed many of those whose names have long been connected with the Anti-Slavery movement. EDMUND STURGE, who died, at Charlbury, last summer, was for many years the life and soul of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. A co-worker with CLARKSON, the first SIR FOWELL BUXTON, and the leaders of the early Anti-Slavery movement, he continued the same work in later years, in conjunction with his colleagues, the late JOSEPH COOPER and ROBERT ALSOP. Since that time, Mr. STURGE acted as Chairman and Vice-President of the Society, attending, gratuitously, closely at the London Office until advancing years compelled him to relax some of the personal attention which he had been accustomed to give to the work. A sketch of his Anti-Slavery career is printed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July and August last. FREDERICK WHEELER and JAMES HENDERSON, both Members of the Committee were long identified with the ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE, whilst VICTOR SCHÖLCHER, the well-known French abolitionist, may well be linked with their names.

Amongst other deceased friends and supporters of the Anti-Slavery movement in England, whose deaths have occurred during the past twelve months, the following may be noted :—

GEORGE ALLEN, MARY A. BACKHOUSE, ANNA JANE BAKER, SARAH S. BELL, ELIZABETH BELL, CHARLES L. BRAITHWAITE, THOMAS EMMOTT, ALFRED FRYER, ABRAHAM R. GRACE, ELIZABETH GRUBB, JAMES HENDERSON, HANNAH THISTLETHWAITE, THOMAS WESTCOMBE, HENRY WHITE.

This long list of departed friends reminds us of the touching words of a great Anti-Slavery poet, who himself only a few months before the dawning of the year under review, passed on into the better land, where Slaves are free.

It singeth low in every heart,  
We hear it each and all ;  
A song of those who answer not,  
However we may call.

They throng the silence of the breast ;  
We see them as of yore—  
The kind, the true, the brave, the sweet,  
Who walk with us no more.

'Tis hard to take the burden up  
Where these have laid it down ;  
They brightened all the joys of life,  
They softened every frown.

But, oh, 'tis good to think of them  
When we are troubled sore ;  
Thanks be to God that such have been,  
Although they are no more !

More homelike seems the vast unknown  
Since they have entered there ;  
To follow them were not so hard,  
Wherever they may fare.

They cannot be where God is not,  
On any sea or shore ;  
Whate'er betides, Thy love abides,  
Our God for evermore.

J. G. WHITTIER.

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### **Legacies.**

ALTHOUGH many charitable bequests have been announced during the past year, from former friends and members of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in favour of various charitable bodies, that Society has not received any addition to its funds from such source during 1893. The last legacy received by the Society was £100 under the will of the late STAFFORD ALLEN, who died in 1889.

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### **Ways and Means.**

FOR the past few years, a very considerable diminution has taken place in the subscriptions and donations, necessary to enable the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to carry on its work. Much of this diminution

arises from removal by death of old members, and it is most desirable that their place should be filled by those of a younger generation, not a few of whom are the inheritors of considerable worldly wealth, from those who were long earnest supporters of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Every fresh member adds to the moral and material power of the Society, and helps it in its efforts to heal "the open sore of the world."

One form of helping the Society, which has been adopted by two or three ladies, is by means of a MONEY BOX, placed in some conspicuous position, for the receipt of small sums. We venture to think that if this plan were largely adopted by young ladies, it might be made a valuable source of income, and would press heavily on no one.

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### Anti-Slavery Lectures.

DURING the year 1893 thirty-seven lectures, mostly illustrated by lantern slides, were delivered in various places by the Society's accredited agent. This form of spreading information, and educating public opinion, is open to large expansion, *provided the necessary funds are forthcoming.*

The lectures are almost invariably free, as it is found that any admission fee restricts the attendance.

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## 1894.

THE principal objects which demand the close attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY during the present year are:—

The abolition of Slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar, and in every other British Protectorate where Slavery is tolerated, or any form of servile labour akin to Slavery.

To call the attention of Foreign Governments to any infringement on the part of their subjects of the Act of the Brussels Conference with regard to the Slave-trade.

The collection of information respecting the Labour Traffic in Queensland, and the evils caused by the depopulation of the Polynesian Islands.

To keep the British public informed upon all ANTI-SLAVERY matters by means of lectures, and through the press, and in all other ways as opportunity may arise.



## Germany and the East African Slave-Trade.

WE have received permission from the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY, to publish copy of the correspondence that has recently passed between their Acting-Administrator at Mombasa and a German trader who wishes to obtain from the Company's territories a thousand men to work in the gold mines in Madagascar. As these men would be, in reality, Slaves, notwithstanding the specious argument that a few dollars advanced for wages turns them into free men, although it is well-known that such advances go to the masters, the Company very properly declined the proposal. It must be noted that the trader claims his right as a German subject "to buy Slaves and free them," and he states that a few days previously, he had exported about 500 men for the Congo Free State, from the German Protectorate. It remains to be seen whether the German Government really allows this mode of Slave trading, and whether it would endorse the trader's action in paying an export duty of a pound a head, which he had the effrontery to offer to the English company. In the German Reichstag, Dr. KAYSER, Director of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, made some very severe comments upon a similar form of Slave trading pursued by a German firm for procuring Slaves from the KING OF DAHOMEY for service in the Congo State.

These men although bought from the KING OF DAHOMEY, were declared to be free men who had pledged themselves to work for seven years on the Congo Railway!

At the foot of this article will be found a letter from the Rev. HORACE WALLER, commenting upon this nefarious transaction and alluding to the fact that natives had been shipped from the east coast of Africa for similar service.

We fully agree with our correspondent that the action of the German firm which bought Slaves from the KING OF DAHOMEY, is very much on a par with that of the German who exported men from the territories on the east coast for the Congo. The prompt and decisive action of the Administrator of the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY is exactly what we should look for from an English official in his high position.

TO THE ACTING-ADMINISTRATOR IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.

ZANZIBAR, *December 8th*, 1893.

About three months ago I sent you a telegram to ask for permission to export about 500 men for the Congo Free State. I have got these men on the German coast, and sent on Monday last.

Now there is another question. I need about 1,000 people for the gold

mines at Madagascar ; if you will kindly allow me to export that people from Mombasa, I shall be ready to pay an exportation duty of £1 a head, and I promise you that I shall take that people from all the chiefs who are troublesome for your government, *viz.*, BARUKA, SALIM, FUMO H. OMARI, and from MZE BIN SEF, and the Lamu people.

Or there is still another way. I, as a German subject, am able and allowed to buy Slaves and free them ; well, if you allow me, I shall free a thousand Slaves in your territory, if they agree to work for two-thirds of their wages ; the contract with the people is to be made for the time of three years, every man will get five dollars a month, and food ; six months will be paid in advance, that is \$30, the rest of \$150 (less the money they will spend at Madagascar) will be paid when they come back.

If you allow me to free Slaves they will get \$15 now, and \$105 (less the spent money) when they come back, so that I shall have \$60 at my disposal to free them.

I should be very much obliged to you if you can give me permission, in one way or the other, and beg you to be kind enough to give me a reply as soon as possible.

If you want me to speak about the matter, I shall come there by the next opportunity.

(Signed) \* \* \* \*

REPLY OF ACTING-ADMINISTRATOR IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.

MOMBASA, *December 12th*, 1893.

In reply to your letter of the 8th inst., I regret to say that I cannot agree to your proposals with regard to the export of men from the Company's territories to Madagascar, and elsewhere. I am, however, sending a copy of your letter to my Directors, in order to ascertain their opinion on the subject.

LETTER OF ACTING-ADMINISTRATOR TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE IMPERIAL  
BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY.

MOMBASA, *December 19th*, 1893.

I enclose, for the information of the Directors, a letter received *re* the shipment of 1,000 men from the Company's territory to Madagascar, to work in the mines there ; you will see from my reply that I have not agreed to the proposal. The coast districts are very thinly populated, and, in the absence of any laws for their protection, it is probable that the people would be illtreated or defrauded. And, if this wholesale exportation were allowed, it is probable that people like MBARUK BIN RASCHID and the others mentioned, would at once begin (?) stealing the natives in their districts for shipment.

I hope the Directors will approve of my action in this matter.

## GERMANY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

BERLIN, *February 3rd.*

The following statement has been made in the Budget Committee of the Reichstag by Dr. KAYSER, Director of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office:—"Searching inquiries have shown that the German representative of the Hamburg firm, WÖLBER & BROHN, RICHTER by name, has repeatedly bought Slaves from the KING OF DAHOMEY. The Slaves had been captured by the King in the French Hinterland, and RICHTER paid for them in Winchester rifles and ammunition, which the King used in his war against the French. When the French stormed the house of the King in Dahomey they found a receipt by the German agent, RICHTER, for a consignment of these Slaves, the payment being in Winchester rifles to the value of £400. The firm of WÖLBER & BROHM has also admitted, while refusing further information, that they received from the Government of the Congo for every Dahomey man on delivery the sum of £20. The Congo Government is in the habit of paying only £1 for each free labourer procured for them. RICHTER received from the KING OF DAHOMEY the title of a 'Great Chief,' but has not asked permission to bear this title in German territory. Two consignments of Slaves were sent. A declaration was made before the German Consul to the effect that the Dahomey labourers were freemen who had pledged themselves to work for seven years at the Congo Railway. Dr. KAYSER regretted that paragraph 234 of the German Criminal Code was not applicable to these offences, as it only applied when the acts were also punishable in the territory where they were committed. This was not the case in Whydah, the Consular official, a merchant in Whydah, had given an ambiguous opinion in his report on the occurrences, but the commander of the gunboat *Habicht* reported that he had heard of Slaves in chains being shipped on account of the firm of WÖLBER & BROHM. He then interdicted the shipment, as it appeared to be a case of Slave-trading. The shipment did not take place so long as the gunboat remained. The firm of WÖLBER & BROHM has had the face to address a petition to the Reichstag, complaining that the German Government did not extend them adequate protection against France. Dr. KAYSER had not the slightest hesitation in saying that if the agent, RICHTER, had been seized by French troops, brought before a Court-martial, and shot, the German Government would not have had the least objection to offer. The firm of WÖLBER & BROHM say in their defence that if they had not got the KING of DAHOMEY's permission to take the people away they would probably have been slaughtered at some sacrificial festival. Dr. KAYSER thinks that this case has doubtless a certain resemblance to that in which HERR VON GRAVENREUTH caused Dahomey people to be transported to the Cameroons. But the German Government had on that occasion, so soon as they were informed of the affair, given orders that the Dahomey people in the Cameroons should be declared free, and that a guardian should be appointed

to look after their rights. HERR VON GRAVENREUTH had been prompted, to a certain extent, by ideal motives, but WÜLBER & BROHM, had only the object of common commercial profit in such transactions. The oftener such transactions are repeated the stronger will be the inducements for the KING OF DAHOMEY to extend his Slave-hunting operations in order to satisfy the demands of the labour market. Dr. KAYSER added that the consignment of rifles to the KING OF DAHOMEY was infamous. The well-known Hamburg firm of WOERMANN was not involved in blame. The captain of the WOERMANN steamer was not in a position to know that this was a case of transporting men against their will."—*Morning Post*.

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*To the Editor of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.*

SIR,—No doubt amongst the items concerning the African Slave-trade, which will go to make up your budget of news in the coming number of the *Reporter*, mention will be made of the occurrences in the German Parliament, set forth in *The Times* and other daily papers of the 2nd of February last.

Allow me to offer a few words on the subject. Under the celebrated Brussels Act, and by common consent, the seventeen Powers (including Great Britain) resolved that Brussels should be the headquarters in which to establish a "Bureau," to which all that concerns the suppression of Slavery should gravitate. It is the official focus as far as the civilised Powers are concerned, and one would naturally conclude that in making this arrangement the various signatories to the Brussels Act were not unmindful of the reasons given by Belgium for her endeavours to open up the "Dark Continent" generally, and the Congo Valley more especially. But your readers will read with consternation the revelations and remarks of Dr. KAYSER. In a word, the Germans are scandalized at finding the KING OF DAHOMEY supplying a German firm with *Slaves*, to be used on the Congo for the purposes of the Congo State, and presumably for the construction of the Congo railway, which has necessitated so much Slave labour drawn from all parts. The price paid to the KING OF DAHOMEY by the German firm was so many rifles. Now the French find that their soldiers are shot down by these very weapons, put into the hands of their enemies, *in exchange for Slaves!*

It is exceedingly painful to reflect upon this matter. Were it a single instance of cross-purposes—not to put too fine a point upon it in this connection—one might leave it to the honour of those most concerned to ensure the non-recurrence of such acts. But the Brussels authorities hardly justify such a happy anticipation. It is not the first time by many that we have heard of the deplorable stimulus given to the Slave-trade by the authorities of the Congo State. One example shall suffice. The late Sir GERALD PORTAI was compelled to represent to his Government in 1891 that this process of drawing Slaves away from our Zanzibar Protectorate for the



purposes of the Congo Free State was a serious stimulant to the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa. All this is set out in Blue Book "Africa," No. 6, 1892, and one is not surprised to find that LORD SALISBURY instantly put a stop to such suicidal proceedings.

As if to make confusion worse confounded, we read that 500 natives were recently shipped from the German possessions in East Africa to the Congo, but there are indications that this process has ceased, inasmuch as one finds the shippers of Slaves are now seeking to draw their victims from territories outside of the German possessions.

It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the various Powers, who have ostentatiously taken upon themselves the care of the Africans, that to permit men to be marched on to transports from any part of the coast, under the mock pretence that they are "unemployed" and only anxious for a job, and capable of understanding contract clauses, and so on, is, by the light of all we know upon the subject, an unpardonable participation in the Slave-trade. Early in the sixties vast tracts of East Africa, lying behind the Portuguese ports of Quillimane, Mozambique, and Ibo, were swept of their inhabitants midst fire, famine, and murder, to satisfy the requirements of Bourbon. It was called by the French a "free emigration" scheme. The curious may turn to LIVINGSTONE'S "Zambesi and Its Tributaries," p. 25, if they desire to see the working of the evil, which is under the notice of COUNT VON CAPRIVI, as a result of the disagreeable episode referred to above. To the credit of the EMPEROR LOUIS NAPOLEON be it said, that he put an end to this traffic. As we know that every Congo wire is pulled from Brussels, we must trust that this precedent may not stand alone and without response in the annals of Africa's advance. I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

Twywell Rectory.

HORACE WALLER.

*Note.—The correspondence with the Imperial British East Africa Company, printed above, shows that 500 Slaves were shipped for the Congo, from German territory, so lately as December, 1893!—Ed. Reporter.*

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## The Re-opening of the Soudan to Trade.

MR. FRANK SPENCE, of Manchester, an earnest supporter of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, has written a long and interesting letter to the *Manchester Guardian* of the 19th February, 1894, in which he strongly advocates the re-opening of the Soudan to trade, and the construction of the railway from Suakin to Berber, which the Society for so many years urged upon the British Government. It may be remembered that the railway was commenced, but abandoned after the construction of a few miles, and we believe that some of the plant is still lying on the sea-shore.

## Revolt in the Cameroons.

REPORTED CRUELTY BY GERMANS.

THE infamy of GENERAL HAYNAU and the flood of indignation which it evoked in this country, are vividly recalled by the news from the Cameroons, which is just published. It now appears that the recent outbreak of a body of black soldiers, numbering 150 men, mostly Dahomeyans, against the German authorities there, was provoked by the flogging of some twenty women, by order of the Sub-Governor.

For an offence which, it is stated, was not disclosed, the women, it is reported, were stripped of their clothing, laid across barrels, and whipped.

Thereupon a hundred of the soldiery mutinied, and proceeded to Government House, which is situated in Bell Town. The officials were at dinner at the time, the judge sitting at the head of the table. The natives, entering the room, fired point blank at the judge, whom they mistook for the Sub-Governor. The judge was killed on the spot.

The whole place was taken by the mutineers, who also got possession of the ammunition stores, and became masters of the town.

The mutineers did not offer to molest the traders or the other natives. Indeed they told the traders to remain in their houses, and they would not be interfered with. The traders did so for a short time, but the Sub-Governor having sent word to them that he could not offer them protection, or be responsible for their lives, the traders, both German and English, went over to the British and African Company's steamship *Benguela*, which was lying on the opposite side of the river. The resident natives of Bell Town also left their houses, although the soldiers said they would do them no harm.

The German Government officials and officers had, in the meantime, betaken themselves to the river in the little light-draught gunboats *Nachtigal* and *Soden*.

The mutineers had taken the precaution to cut the telegraph wires, so as to prevent the officers wiring for assistance.

The stores contained 1,500 magazine rifles, and 500,000 rounds of ammunition, of all of which the mutineers possessed themselves. They had also got a Maxim gun, but for this they had only about 400 rounds.

The Government House was taken possession of by the mutineers, who went to the Sub-Governor's apartments and destroyed them, to show their contempt for that official.

The mutineers held possession of the town for a week.

During the time occasional firing took place between the two little boats in the river and the mutineers, but the officials did not take any decided step until the arrival of the large gunboat *Hyana*.

When this latter arrived on the 20th, and saw the fighting going on, her big guns were soon heard booming along the river, and some effective shots were sent by her into the Government House, which the mutineers had converted into a sort of barrack.

The wives of the men also took part in the fighting.

The commander of the *Hyana* got the fifty faithful troops, and reinforced them with other natives, and despatched them to attack the mutineers in the rear. Immediately they had got into a favourable position they arranged to send up a rocket as a signal. In the meantime a force of sailors was landed from the *Hyana* on the beach.

The white gunner on board the *Soden* was shot dead during the fighting with the natives from the shore. The *Hyæna* sent shot after shot from her big guns, knocking the Government House to pieces, and eventually, after the white troops had been landed, and the others had sent up their signal from the rear, the mutineers, seeing their only chance was in flight, made for the bush, when the fight ended.

The *Hyæna's* men then took possession of the town, and the merchants, who had all this time been on board the English steamer *Benguela*, went back to the factories, and found that the natives had acted most honourably, not having molested a single place. Indeed, at one English factory, a watch and chain had been left on the dressing-table, and had never been touched.

The Government House was almost destroyed, and one or two other places had been hit by shots from the war vessels. The new house recently erected by a Bristol firm was by this means badly damaged, but no spoliation or looting of any sort took place.

Subsequently two of the mutineers and three of the women voluntarily gave themselves up, together with a large number of rifles and cartridges, which had been divided amongst the mutineers.

The five unfortunate individuals were at once hanged, and, as may be imagined no further men or women ventured from the bush to give themselves up.

Matters soon assumed their usual appearance after the natives were driven into the bush.

The strange part of the affair was the fact that no dead natives could be seen as the result of the fire from the ships. It may have been that the natives carried them away into the bush.

The mutineers said their only "palaver" was with the sub-governor. They expressed their regret at having shot the poor judge, but said they were all willing to die if it had been the sub-governor who had been killed.

Captain THOMPSON said when his steamer, the *Cabenda*, belonging to the African Company, which brings the news, went up with the British flag flying, the natives on the shore ceased firing.

Sir CLAUDE MACDONALD, her Majesty's Commissioner for the Oil Rivers, went in his vessel *Evangeline* to look after British interests, while her Majesty's ship *Widgeon* was despatched specially from Sierra Leone to the Cameroons immediately the affair became known.—*Westminster Gazette*.

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#### CRUELITIES AT THE CAMEROONS.

*To the Editor of the "ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER."*

DEAR SIR,—Enclosed I send you two printed papers, one a cutting from the *Liverpool Weekly Mercury*, of the 3rd inst., the other a letter from myself, printed in 1884, setting forth the state of matters on the West Coast of Africa, particularly at the Cameroons. I had to make several complaints of cruelties which came under my observation when in Africa, but none of them were so barbarous as that just reported as having been recently committed at the Cameroons. All the other acts of cruelty which I exposed were committed upon *men*, but here the Germans have outdone everything heretofore reported in committing cruelties upon *women*.

The Cameroons people were for many years under British protection, and the British nation are morally bound, while in handing them over to another Power, to see that they are treated with humanity.

I am, very truly yours,

ALEXANDER INNES.

Birkenhead, Liverpool, 15th February, 1894.

(*Enclosure.*)

# THE GERMAN ANNEXATION AT THE CAMEROONS.

*To the Editor of "THE BAPTIST."*

DEAR SIR,—Several reports have been published recently to the effect that Germany had annexed the Cameroons. From one of these reports it seems that "Bimbia" is the annexed territory, which forms a small portion of country at the northern entrance to the Cameroons River.

Will you allow me to state that when I was at the Cameroons, in 1859, I entered into an agreement with the then head chief at the Cameroons, KING AQUA, who appointed me to act as his agent, and to take over the whole of his territory on behalf of the British Government, and to establish a British colony over the whole of his district, which comprised many hundreds of miles to the south and east of the Cameroons River; and, to secure the bargain, I paid him a deposit on account, for which I hold his receipt.

I mapped out the whole of the surrounding country, and went over a large portion of it personally, going further into the interior in this direction than any white man was ever known to go before. This map, with the names of towns and the assumed population of the towns marked upon it, is now in my possession, and can be seen by those interested in the question.

When I returned from Africa in 1860 I placed the whole matter before the British Government, and saw LORD WODEHOUSE, the then Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but the British Government declined to annex.

In 1867 I drew up a petition to the House of Commons, which was presented by the late Mr. CHARLES GILPIN, M.P., on May 14th, praying for "the establishment of a Court of Justice for the Bights of Benin and Biafra to take cognisance and to put down the cruelties and the barbarities which are practised upon the natives by British traders and others on that part of the West Coast of Africa." This petition was ordered by the Committee on Petitions to be printed *in extenso*, and was shortly after acted upon, and a Court of Equity has been established for some time on that part of the West Coast of Africa, with the happiest results, inasmuch as no further cruelties have been reported from that part of Africa for some years back. . . .

The petition will be found in the "Report on Public Petitions, May 20th to 21st, 1867, page 254, number app. 597."

The insertion of this letter will show the facts of the case regarding the Cameroons.

ALEXANDER INNES.

Birkenhead, October 6th, 1884.



## Slavery in Zanzibar.

*From the "WESTMINSTER GAZETTE."*

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has addressed a very important memorial to LORD ROSEBERY. Considering the quarter from which it comes, there will be a disposition to treat it as a shriek from Exeter Hall; but it is a very statesmanlike and temperate document. The signatories point out that in Zanzibar and Pemba, which are now so completely under a British Protectorate that we are responsible for what is done in them, the importation of Slaves goes on vigorously. It is suggested that, though Slavery cannot be swept away by a stroke, the legal status might be abolished, so that Slaves could transfer themselves from a bad master, of which, at present, the law by a recent enactment does not allow. The official reply appears to be that the importation must have been very much restricted, as the clove-gardens are to some extent going out of cultivation. This, however, if it be true, is no excuse for conniving at the ill-treatment of such Slaves as there are. To an outsider, the weak point in the Society's case appears to be their estimate of the population. They make it four times as great as the estimate in the "Statesman's Year Book, and more than twice as great as that in the "Almanac de Gotha." Probably statistics in that quarter are a little loose.

CRITICISM BY THE REV. HORACE WALLER.

*To the Editor of "The Westminster Gazette."*

SIR,—As one of those who signed the memorial to LORD ROSEBERY upon the position of Slaves, under a British Protectorate at Zanzibar and Pemba, may I ask for a word of explanation, which seems called for in view of your remarks in the issue of the *Westminster Gazette* of the 26th inst.? The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY does not set the population of these islands in 1894 at 450,000. This was the computation in 1844. It has answered a good many purposes since then carefully to prevent any census being taken; had it been otherwise—especially of late years—the enormous importation of Slaves would have been revealed. We ventured to point out to his Lordship how utterly absent are all statistics at the present time. The "Statesman's Year-Book" and the "Almanach de Gotha" can but guess at the numbers of people in the islands. As you justly say, one doubts the estimate of the other! What we do bitterly complain of is this: Great Britain is spending yearly a sum, which is approximately £100,000, in trying to stop a portion of the Slave-trade along the East African coast. The island of Pemba is responsible for the greater proportion of this cost.

It is not too much to suppose that someone from the Consular staff on the adjoining island of Zanzibar would occasionally visit this cemetery, in which our taxes are laid to rest—if only that he might be able to report to the Foreign Office how the place looked, what goes on there, and how the Slaves are dealt with after they have been smuggled through our cordon of expensive and hard-working cruisers. That we have exchanged these islands for Heligoland does not diminish one's surprise at finding that, thanks to NANSSEN, we know more about the interior of Greenland than we do of the clove gardens of Pemba. The only item of recent interest (though it has its painful side) is that the growing of cloves in Pemba during 1893 exceeded the production of 1892 by 27,832 frasilahs. But this is derived from the Zanzibar Custom House, and possibly means more Slaves on Pemba.

The eye of the police is on Petticoat Lane, and the prow of the detective is not unknown in Ratcliffe Highway; but, I repeat, it is convenient to allow things to go on as they are at present, especially as the Foreign Office admits that every Slave in Zanzibar and Pemba run in by the Arab smugglers since 1873 is "illegally" maintained in the state of Slavery.

In closing these remarks, one finds it hard to pass over the fact that the late Sir GERALD PORTAL, with his characteristic boldness, was the first to report to his Government that one main incitement to the dragging of Slaves out of Central Africa to these islands was the habit which Englishmen had of fitting out their expeditions at Zanzibar for Uganda and elsewhere with Slaves as porters. His manly exposure of this discreditable business put a stop to it at once.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

Twywell Rectory, Thrapston, *January 27.*

HORACE WALLER.

*CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE "ZANZIBAR GAZETTE."*

MR. C. H. ALLEN, Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, wrote as follows with reference to the remarks regarding his reply to Mr. RENNELL RODD, published in the *Zanzibar Gazette*:—

*December 1st, 1893.*

SIR,—In the *Zanzibar Gazette* of the 25th October you devote a column to a review of my letter in reply to Mr. RENNELL RODD's, which I addressed to LORD ROSEBURY and not to *The Times*, as stated by you. There is one point upon which I trust you will allow me to make a few remarks, and for this purpose I quote the following from your article:—"Mr. ALLEN loses sight of a most important fact, and that is that within the last three years a land barrier against Slavery has been set up in the very heart of the Continent, from Lake Nyassa in the South, (where Mr. JOHNSTON has so successfully dealt with the hotbed of Slavery at one time established round that lake), through German East Africa, to the south end of Lake Nyanza, and on to the furthest limits of British East Africa in Uganda on the north. In past years providing a raid on an up-country village were successful, no obstacles were put in the way of the captured Slaves being brought down to the coast, and it was only on embarkation in dhows that any risk had to be incurred. During the past three or four years, however, the up-country districts have been patrolled by Iskaris, either directly or indirectly in the service of civilised powers for repression of all Slaving caravans, and even if a raid (which would now-a-days have to take place far in the interior), were successful, the Slaver would have to run the gauntlet daily of being detected by these Iskaris, and receiving a particularly short shrift, at the hands of the civilising power occupying the territory: in the face of such obstacles how many Slaves can possibly be brought down safely to the coast or embarked from there without observation."

If this means anything, it implies that along the eastern shore of Lake Nyassa, which is divided into spheres under the influence of Germany on the north, Portugal in the middle, and Great Britain on the south, there is such a vigilant patrol of Iskaris, (whose masters are directly or indirectly the three Powers in question), that for droves of Slaves to be run through the line must be a venturesome undertaking!

Whilst it is notorious that Portugal has neither money nor enterprise to maintain a Slave-trade suppressing force on her borders, there is good reason to believe that neither Germans nor English have guarded their frontier by any force of Iskaris at all adequate to the arresting of the Slave gangs that have so long traversed, and still traverse, the country to the coast.

As regards repression of the traffic by sea, when one considers that with a fleet at your service in Zanzibar, you find it impossible to prevent the maintaining of the Slave population in Pemba and Zanzibar—all illegally held, as you are aware—how can you expect Portugal to excel you in making captures at sea?

Mr. Commissioner JOHNSTON has, doubtless, accomplished much, but with the small force at his disposal it has, hitherto, been impossible to prevent the transit of Slaves from the Yao country to the coast, to say nothing of various other Slave routes.

You speak of the abolition of the legal status of Slavery as a violent step, and that it must be left to the discretion of Her Majesty's agents in each place to determine whether this method should be adopted. The policy of the abolition of the legal status of Slavery is one that has been pursued by England for the last fifty years, and it has never been found to produce the friction that you appear to apprehend. Nor has its administration been left to the discretion of local agents. It is an Imperial policy, and it is the business of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to watch carefully that the continuance of this policy is not broken by any British Government, either at Zanzibar or in any other Protectorate, and you may rest assured that this is a line from which the Society will never swerve.

Your article concludes with the assertion that domestic Slaves in Zanzibar are better off than many men and women in England. This is an argument which I seem to have heard before, as I invariably find that those who wish to slur over the evils of Slavery take refuge in this *tu quoque* retort, which might be made to cover any iniquity. It reminds me that I once heard the noted socialist Mr. HYNDMAN orating to some working men, and telling them, that the Slaves in the West Indies were better fed, and better housed than they were, upon which I called out "and better flogged!"—which turned the laugh against the orator and broke up the meeting.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

CHAS. H. ALLEN.

To the Editor of the *Zanzibar Gazette*.

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In reply to the above, we did not wish it to be understood that there was a single and complete line of Iskaris through Central Africa, but that the whole of the stations in East African territories being under European control a Slaver's caravan would be almost certainly discovered before reaching the coast, or at the very least, that the difficulties of running such a caravan successfully are now enormously enhanced compared with previous years. We had no intention of slurring over the evils of the Slave-trade: hearing as we do at intervals in the Consular Court the sufferings of these Slaves from their own lips; we are in quite as good a position as Mr. ALLEN to recognise its evils, and we are at one with his Society as to the necessity for Slavery ceasing to exist. Where we differ from Mr. ALLEN is that we appreciate more fully the difficulties which an instant abolition would entail on Her Majesty's Administrators in the government of the country, and are content to wait until they abolish this evil on their own lines, which we venture to think are as sincere and more practicable than those advocated by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—EDITOR *Zanzibar Gazette*.

## Queensland and the Polynesian Labour Traffic.

THE question of servile contract labour in the sugar plantations of Australia, has, for many years, engaged the serious attention of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, as must be well known to readers of the *Reporter*. Amongst the earnest labourers for the rights of the Polynesian islanders, is the venerable JOHN G. PATON, who for many years has exposed—even at the risk of his own life—the atrocities that are carried on by the labour traffic vessels.

At the end of last year, Dr. PATON had an interview with the MARQUIS OF RIPON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P., the Under-Secretary of State, who is also a member of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. At LORD RIPON'S request Dr. PATON drew up a memorandum fully setting forth the present aspect of the labour traffic, from which we are permitted to make the following extracts, regretting only that want of space compels us to leave out many of the most important items, which include correspondence with the press, some of which we have already published. We think that our readers will agree with us that the pecuniary interests of a few sugar planters must not be allowed to over-ride that moral policy to which England has, long ago, set her seal. Slavery in disguise will, we believe, be as abhorrent to the British public as was formerly Slavery itself in the sugar plantations of the British Colonies.

It must be understood that Dr. PATON purposely “omits all reference to the traffic as conducted previously to 1885, when it was proved before the Supreme Court and the Royal Commission to be a system of fraud, kidnapping, and murder.”

### *Extracts from DR. PATON'S Memorial.*

#### A.—PRELIMINARY.

1. I will endeavour to keep within the scope indicated in your Lordship's request; but I must ask to be allowed, as an essential to a right understanding of the case, to refer to a fact often lost sight of, viz., that, except for a few months in 1891, the traffic has never been stopped. The revelations of frightful atrocities, through the Royal Commission of 1885, caused a resolution to be passed condemning the traffic, and ordering that after a lapse of five years it should be totally abolished, *i.e.*, at the end of 1890. But labour vessels, with licenses to recruit, were allowed to leave Queensland up to the close of 1890, and kept returning with their loads of recruits until far into 1891; and as 1892 dawned Sir SAMUEL GRIFFITHS revived the traffic “for a further term of ten years.” So that the only outcome of the Royal Commission, horrible as were the revelations brought to light, was a resolution, the effect of which was to throw dust in the eyes of the British Nation, and under cover of “Revised Regulations,” a traffic admittedly immoral and fraudulent was revived immediately after its lease of existence, by the unanimous consent of the Nation, had expired; and more, so strong was the Slave interest in Queensland that the very murderers whose bloodthirsty deeds the Supreme Court and the Commission revealed, were reprieved, after a brief imprisonment, at the instance of 80,000 memorialists, and for



the reason that "these atrocities had been common and it was hard to make these men the first victims."

### B.—FIRST MAIN CONTENTION.

I hold, and almost every man thoroughly acquainted with the traffic from long residence in the recruiting grounds holds, that

#### THE REGULATIONS ARE IMPRACTICABLE.

Let me quote a few opinions of Her Majesty's officers and others who thoroughly know the traffic by experience, and whose words must, therefore, carry weight:—

(a.) Vice-Admiral ERSKINE, writing to *The Times*, 25th May, 1892, says—

"Three years' experience in command of the Australian Station, impressed upon me that, under the most stringent regulations, wrongs and abuses occurred in connection with the labour traffic which invariably led to bloodshed and accompanying complications and reprisals;" and, he adds, "the most carefully devised regulations for the conduct of the labour traffic will not prevent wrongs and evils from being committed."

This opinion is endorsed by Captain DAVIS, of Her Majesty's ship *Royalist*.

Sir JOHN B. THURSTON, Her Majesty's High Commissioner for the Western Pacific is of the opinion also, many times repeated, of the Mission Synod of the New Hebrides, as likewise of the Agents of the London Missionary Society in the Western Pacific—than whom, none are better acquainted with the traffic at the recruiting grounds.

The London Missionary Society at home endorse the same opinion, in their letter to Sir SAMUEL GRIFFITHS.

The ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY follow the same declaration, and also Mr. ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, and many others; but I forbear to quote further and similar opinions.

May I now refer to one or two of the Regulations, to show the impracticability of working them?

#### 1. Regulation 11 requires that—

"Every return passenger is duly landed, along with his property, not only on his own island, but at his own village or district; and on no account must any islander be landed at any island, village, or district, other than the one from which he came originally, unless he expressly wishes it; in which case, a full explanation of the circumstances must be entered in the log."

Now, it is well known that the islands are isolated, difficult to navigate, subject to sudden hurricanes, deficient in harbour accommodation, and that the recruiting is done along the shore, as opportunities of calm or a lee shore present themselves. I entreat your Lordship to consider the unlikelihood, nay, the impossibility, that the same conditions will be experienced at the various places *on the return of these recruits* after three years' service. Suppose a lee shore, from which a recruit was taken, is, on his return, subject to the full fury of a gale, how can he be landed "at his own village or district?" Or, suppose that, spite of a high sea, the expert recruit by swimming (as all the islanders can) could reach the boat to recruit to Queensland, on his return he must be duly landed "along with his property"—an impossibility, even under the same conditions of sea in which he was taken away. The smallest experience will cause anyone to see how easily the condition, "unless he expressly wishes it," may be made a way out of the difficulty. The poor return Kanaka is forced to decide ("to expressly wish") either—

(x.) To be landed at some place other than his own village or district; or

(y.) at some adjacent island ; or

(z.) to return to Queensland for a further term of service.

2. Again, with regard to Regulation 12, as to the recruiting of women. The Government Agent is ordered :

"To take special care to satisfy himself that a woman desiring to recruit is accompanied by her actual husband."

How can the agent satisfy himself? I assert, from an intimate knowledge of the intricacies of the native marriage contracts, that it is absolutely impossible. I could give scores of examples.

But, beyond all others perhaps, Regulation No. 14, is the most obviously impracticable. By it the Government Agent is to see :

"That each islander recruited fully understands the nature of the agreement he is to enter into as to rate of payment and especially of duration of service."

- (a) I call your Lordship's attention to the too-much overlooked fact, that there are certainly twenty, and probably *twenty-three, or more, distinct languages* on the New Hebrides. No interpreter on earth knows a quarter of these languages. By what means, then, does the agent see that the recruit "fully understands the nature of the agreement"? This question was put to the then Under Secretary for the Colonies (BARON H. DE WORMS), by Mr. SAMUEL SMITH, on the 18th of May, 1892 ; and even the Baron's diplomatic reply is sufficient to prove that the Regulation is unworkable. BARON DE WORMS said :

"I am aware that there is a great diversity of languages in the Islands, and considerable difficulty has in the past been experienced as regards interpretation ; but this difficulty is *diminishing*, in consequence of the large number of labourers who have now been returned to their homes from Queensland, and other places, and who are able to explain to their fellows the nature of the agreement they were entering into."

- (b) Here then is an admission that Government Agents *depend upon returned labourers to interpret the conditions of Queensland life!* How can they check the accuracy of the statements given by the returned labourer to the uninitiated islanders? If a Return has an object in getting quit of his fellow he may tell him what lies he likes (heathen natives as a rule are inveterate liars) ; and this is admitted in the British House of Commons to be the sole and only means possible in seeing that Regulation 14 is enforced. I assert that this Regulation is absolutely not worth the paper it is written upon.
- (c) As showing that engagements are not understood, I quote from the *Argus* representative, who last year (1892) accompanied the labour vessel "Helena" to the Solomon Islands that he might depict the traffic as it is conducted. In Letter VII. he says :

"We have now sixteen recruits, and I found for the first time that they had a certain amount of English to learn by rote before they reached Queensland. Perhaps this was not absolutely necessary, but it was evidently regarded as highly desirable. In this matter, too, it was thought that the sooner they learned their lessons, all the better would it be in the end. So when the time came on Sunday for distributing their weekly supply of tobacco and pipes they were put through their facings. The Government Agent stood at the gangway they had to pass and called them one by one by name. The recruiter stood by with the tobacco and pipes under his charge.

The 'Returns' were supplied without comment, but when NA LOOT, our first recruit, presented himself in answer to his name, Mr. USSHER asked him : 'Where you go work?' NA LOOT smiled helplessly, but the recruiter came to his aid with the word 'Bundaberg.' NA LOOT took his cue and blundered through 'Bundaberg.' 'How long you go work?' was the next question. 'Three years,' said the recruiter, and NA LOOT repeated the answer parrot-like. 'How much you get one year?' 'Six pounds,' said the recruiter *sotto voce*, and the recruit said 'Sixty pounnee.' 'Where you work along?' 'Soogar cane,' answered NA LOOT, echoing the recruiter to the best of his ability, and then he had his tobacco and pipe. All the recruits were coached in the same way, and were told that when they failed to answer correctly they would fail to get their tobacco."

### C.—SECOND MAIN CONTENTION.

I assert further that the traffic is unprincipled, and, as such, is unworthy of an enlightened and Christian colony; and I submit a summary of the grounds for that conviction :—

1. Though the islanders of the New Hebrides have no settled Government, there are Communal obligations which are entirely annulled by the removal of the able-bodied islander from his home. Sir ARTHUR GORDON refers to this matter in his humane letter to *The Times* of June 7, 1892.

The complications that arise from this cause in tribal life are endless and disastrous.

2. The islands are, by the traffic, deprived of their best manhood, causing rapid depopulation, while the strength and protection of husbands and fathers are withdrawn.

3. The death rate of the picked, healthy men, whose ages vary from 16 to 40 on the plantations, is a perpetual condemnation of the traffic. In 1891 the average over Queensland was 60 per 1,000.

4. Further, depopulation of the islands is caused by the introduction of foreign disease through the labour vessels. Dr. WILLIAM GUNN, of Edinburgh, a medical missionary on Futuna, reports in April, 1893 :—

"That one-fourth of the population of Futuna, mostly the young, were destroyed by dysentery, which was brought by a labour vessel from Queensland landing a returned Futunese woman with a half-caste child suffering from this malignant and fatal disease, not endemic to the island."

The vessels are under no rule in this respect, and they can do as they please, with disastrous results.

5. Immorality is fostered on the islands by the withdrawal of the husbands (very few women go to Queensland), constant feuds and bloodshedding arise from this source.

6. Immorality is equally fostered on the Queensland plantations by the presence of perhaps not more than one woman to every twenty native healthy men; and many of these poor women consequently die in the Queensland hospitals.

7. So liable are the Regulations to abuse, that even in Queensland, where all is said to be fair and righteous, both in the treatment of the Kanakas and the faithful discharge of the obligations for their return at the end of their period, a case has recently seen the light to which I refer your Lordship. The scandal is connected with the Islanders Immigration Department, whereby it is proved that a system of

middlemen has been established, who, for large premiums, by lying and bribes, induce the time-expired islanders to extend their time in the colony, the outlay for bribes being a far more profitable investment to the planters than paying the passage-money of a returning labourer and the head money of a new recruit. Your Lordship will, no doubt, have details of the case, and I ask, how can such a system as this labour traffic, with all its possibilities of money-making, fail to produce dishonest men?

8. The absence of a civilised Government at the recruiting grounds and the isolated position of the islands, the ignorance, nay childish simplicity of the natives, in regard to anything outside their island home; the system of making presents to his relatives on securing a recruit (a system which has come to be recognised by the natives as "payment" or exchange for the recruit), all these things lead to abuse of the Regulations and to certain evil.

9. It is said that the testimony of a native is not received in a case of abuse; and, even if it were, he could not explain his grievance if he wished, except to his missionary, since no one else outside his own people (and certainly no white person having jurisdiction) would understand his language; and I maintain that the most cruelly-wicked argument is that of deducing evidence of non-abuse from the silence of natives on the subject; for I have seen them cruelly treated in Queensland, and, through fear, give the opposite answer to their employer's question in English that they gave to me when asked in their own native language.

10. Even when a case is reported by the missionary, it is ignored, unless specific dates, names of ship, captain, agent, and all parties concerned are given—a condition frequently impossible, and always dangerous to the missionary—since in his loneliness he is more or less dependent for friendly assistance, conveyance of mails, etc., upon any passing ship; and should he report the recruiters for abuse of the Regulations, he is boycotted, and prejudice stirred up against him in the minds of the natives, leading to difficulty, and danger, and threatened death. I have myself been saved by friendly natives, who would not be prejudiced against me, from the personal attacks of Godless traffickers, captains, and agents.

11. I refer again to the system of giving presents, and quote a case which was investigated and punished by Captain DAVIS of Her Majesty's ship *Royalist*, as showing that these so-called "presents" are nothing less in native eyes than the *price* for purchasing human beings.

In 1890, Rev. Mr. BRITTON, one of Bishop SELWYN's Missionaries, reported that a vessel well-known in these seas, and carrying the British flag, was recruiting at Pentecost, and had taken five little boys, for whom they gave sniders to their friends. Mr. BRITTON challenged these transactions as a violation of two labour regulations, *i.e.*, recruiting boys under age, and supplying firearms to the natives. Mr. BRITTON reported the case to Captain DAVIS, of the *Royalist*, who, on investigation, found the charge proved, fined the officer and purser £10 each, confiscated the muskets, and liberated the boys, landing them on their own shore; while a further case is reported by the Rev. Mr. LEGGATT in a letter dated May 10th, 1892—and published in the *Argus*, Melbourne, of 22nd June, 1892—as follows:

"On one of the last trips of the "Helena" at Aoba, a case of tobacco was given for every recruit obtained. Sixty-four were so got there, and on an average each case contained 70 lbs. of tobacco, and of course no work was done for the local traders for months after that."

12. I venture to submit that no laws in any civilised country in the world have so entirely to be dependent for their fulfilment on the integrity of a Government



officer—of subordinate and second-rate rank—and with absolutely no supervision whatever. It is, and ever will be, in all reported cases of abuse, the word of the Government officer against the word of the missionary ; and the word of the former always has the preference, because, usually, some white “witness” will back it up, whereas the missionary has nothing but native evidence, which is not taken ; so that it is absolutely hopeless for him to prove the cases of abuse, since his witnesses are not accepted.

13. In Queensland, the Kanakas have no rights of citizenship. They are not free to take employment other than on the plantations. They are collected, selected, and retained by the planter, and are, to all intents and purposes, absolutely *his bondmen for three years*. Their treatment depends upon the kindness or otherwise of their planter, master, or overseers, just as much as it did in the old days of Slavery, except that a Government inspector occasionally visits the plantation ; and the time of his visit doubtless being well known, nothing is awry to his eyes.

14. The best authorities agree that *Papuans* are incapable of continued exertion such as is required on the plantations. The work amongst sugar canes in the tropics is very unhealthy, leading to consumption and the high death-rate I have already referred to.

15. White labourers are paid highly for work that endangers life ; but, with regard to the poor Kanakas, life is reckoned cheaply, and they are considered sufficiently well paid by 4d. a day with rations, for work that would otherwise cost from 5s. to 8s. a day—the profit going to the planter.

16. I have abstained from putting forward, in a far more painful light than that indicated by the BISHOP OF TASMANIA, on page 19 of Blue Book C 7,000 (Clause C, Paragraph 2), the disastrous effect of the traffic on our Christian Mission.

16A. In this connection, however, I would place on record our deliberate judgment, that after thirty-five years self-sacrificing labour to elevate these savage peoples, during which seven British missionaries have been martyred on our own islands, and some £250,000 of British money has been spent, it is but just that we should receive protection from Britain in our labours :—

- (1.) As a duty to us as British men and women ;
- (2.) As a duty to civilization ; and
- (3.) I think I may add, as the only method of showing gratitude for the preservation of hundreds of British lives from what, had these islands been left alone, would have been a horrible fate through cannibalism.

17. I merely indicate, therefore, a few of the difficulties brought upon our missionaries in their self-denying work by this selfish and unholy traffic in human beings :—

- (a.) In placing a premium on “Mission boys” as recruits on account of their training to habits of industry, honesty, and harmlessness—our best catechumens are thus decoyed away ;
- (b.) In offering opportunities for clandestine engagements and escape on the part of disappointed or evil disposed native men and women, leading to endless complications, and often to bloodshedding on the islands ;
- (c.) In the upheaval of family relations, through withdrawal of the healthiest and stoutest men, leaving the old men unable to support themselves and a burden on the missionary’s slender resources, the children to his care, and the wives to form immoral relations on their husbands’ departure ;

- (d.) In the feelings of revenge towards white men, on account of the non-return of time-expired labourers, leading to such attacks and reprisals as that reported as having taken place on Mallicolo—page 44, Blue Book C 7,000.
- (e.) In the prejudice created against the missionary through the action of his professing Christian fellow-countrymen, and the danger to life and property amidst naked savages, resulting, as one missionary graphically states—

“From the black whirlpool of human passion that every labour ship leaves behind when it lifts its anchor and sails from a haven in these seas.”

#### E.—CONCLUSION.

1. In conclusion let me point out how frequently Sir JAMES GARRICK and others, in replying to accusations against the traffic, have assured the public that, so long as Sir SAMUEL GRIFFITH was Premier of Queensland, there was no room to doubt that all abuses would be carefully enquired into and the Regulations duly enforced. I have I trust pointed out the *impossibility* of enforcing the Regulations; but I would add that, almost immediately after the last declaration of the Queensland Agent-General to the above effect, Sir S. GRIFFITHS resigned the Premiership and is no longer officially responsible. But I must refer to two incidents in regard to this traffic in the public life of Sir S. GRIFFITHS that closely touch upon the issues at stake:—

- (a.) He declares that I never reported to him the cases of abuse of women that I saw evidenced in a Queensland Hospital, in company with two ladies and the Presbyterian Minister of the place—forgetting that, at his own invitation, I waited upon him officially, and detailed verbally all that we had seen; as also I commented upon it publicly in my lectures and addresses throughout the Colonies.
- (b.) With regard to the unproved accusations, page 58 Blue Book, C. 7,000, wickedly and maliciously made against our missionaries by Government Agent RANNIE (who be it noted shot himself immediately on landing in Australia), accusations that are a tissue of lies from beginning to end and wrongly allowed to appear in a Government Blue Book, as being irrelevant to the subject (Polynesian Labour Traffic) treated in that book and entirely unproved. I am credibly informed that Sir SAMUEL GRIFFITHS gave these charges to the world immediately on receiving them and without any attempt at inquiry or probation.

I would beg to be allowed also to add, with regard to these charges, that when they were challenged lately the editor of a Sydney paper (*The Presbyterian*) declared without contradiction that the story does not refer to the New Hebrides Mission at all!

It is easy to show in a few words why these stories circulated. Traders on the islands are, as a rule, bad men. They settle down, sell muskets, powder, &c. In time every native who wishes, gets firearms and ammunition; he then ceases to bring cocoanuts to the traders. The presence and work of the missionary stops fighting, and the traders business ceases. He at once blames the missionary. If he were not there the natives would fight and that means more ammunition, &c.

“The fact is,” writes my missionary son this month, “the law which says English traders shall not sell muskets is almost a dead letter and very little disguise about it.”

2. I do not refer to the BISHOP OF TASMANIA’s letter favouring the traffic, except to say in one word that the Bishop judges by hearsay evidence obtained on a flying visit, whereas my colleagues and I, the naval officers, the High Commissioner, and the missionary societies, whose opinion I have quoted under Main Contention B, page 4 and 5, judge from long residence on the islands, and from an intimate (and painful)

daily acquaintance with the traffic as it came before us at our posts of duty. No evidence but this is of any practical value in settling the matter.

3. I dare not trespass further on your Lordship's time, though I fain would linger to fill in the details of facts that prove every statement I have made in this letter. But I do solemnly assure your Lordship, without bias or prejudice against planters, agents, or crews, that the *system* of securing Polynesian labour for the Queensland plantations, is a relic of the bygone and barbarous past, a veiled system of Slavery—robbed to some extent of its bloodshed and murder—but carried on by deceit and allurements, by bribes and plausibility, through the agency of trained native decoys under cover of armed boats' crews, captains, and Government Agents, in regions far from the vigilant eye of the law (save for the occasional visit, hailed with joy by missionaries and natives, of one of Her Majesty's ships with their noble officers, men of honour, of kindly heart and noble bearing, who so impartially seek to administer justice and uphold the proud honour of the Queen and Nation). I repeat that, while humanity is at a very low ebb in the South Sea labour collectors, and while deeds can be perpetrated on *speechless natives* whose dark bodies alone are desired for the energy that can be forced out of them to fill the coffers of white men, while the planters own labour ships and hire captains and crews, and while a handsome premium is given all round for Kanaka recruits, the traffic is bound to be a curse and a degradation to all engaged in it—a disgrace to the Colony that legalises it—and a blot on the fair name of Britain.

4. I entreat your Lordship to hear the heart-felt plea of an old man, burdened with the evils that are heaped upon his defenceless people, just as they are emerging from the long, black midnight of gross heathenism and cannibalism. Oh that my beloved country would rise and stamp out this foul system—that the land of WILBERFORCE and CLARKSON—that the Britain whose blood and treasure has been freely sacrificed to enable her to assume the proud honour of a nation that never owns a Slave—a nation that prefers death to bondage—that my own loved home-land would add to its roll of glorious triumphs this—that her children must not and shall not disgrace her name by playing with a deadly system that has in the past, and must in the future, lead to abuse, bloodshed and God-dishonouring cruelty, little short of that accursed thing called Slavery!

I have the honour to be, my Lord Marquis,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) JOHN G. PATON, D.D.

2, Park Quadrant, Glasgow,

December, 1893.

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#### QUEENSLAND VIEW OF THE POLYNESIAN LABOUR TRAFFIC.

On January 9th, 1894, Miss FLORA L. SHAW, late Special Correspondent of *The Times*, read a Paper before the Royal Colonial Institute, on "The Australian Outlook."

This Paper, although somewhat optimistic, is an excellent summary of the interesting and thoughtful letters which have already appeared in *The Times* from its exceptionally talented and, in most respects, impartial lady correspondent. It is noteworthy that she boldly expounds the view which

is, no doubt, prevalent in the north, that there are two Australias—one temperate and the other tropical—and for the latter she apparently favours the introduction of what she acknowledges to be “a servile labour race.” This phrase was adopted long ago by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and is still used by it in its contention that the introduction of a servile coolie population, as at present conducted by agents, who are paid by commission, is closely akin to Slavery and the Slave-trade. Dr. PATON, in the letter above quoted, states that a case of tobacco was given for every recruit obtained, and that each case contained seventy pounds of tobacco. To us, this appears in no way different from cases where Slaves are bought at so many dollars per head.

Miss SHAW has, evidently, only seen what may be called the *bright side* of the Kanaka question, and of this side we have ourselves, probably, seen more than *The Times* Correspondent, and are, therefore, fully able to aver that from this side only it is quite impossible to form a correct judgment of the Labour Traffic. Of course, the men or women when obtained are, from motives of self-interest, tolerably well treated, at any rate, near the towns; but still the fact remains that the annual mortality on the plantations is abnormally high. Dr. PATON observes that :—

“The death rate of the picked, healthy men, whose ages vary from sixteen to forty, on the plantations, is a perpetual condemnation of the traffic. In 1891, the average over Queensland was sixty per thousand.”

This death rate, compared with that of London, with a population larger than that of all Australia, and with a very large proportion of the very poor, is certainly an argument against the traffic which cannot be gainsaid.

Another objection to the traffic, on which we can only just touch, is the very small proportion of women compared with the men. What this means, will be readily understood by anyone conversant with the Coolie Traffic.

But we must allow Miss SHAW to speak for herself, in the following extracts from her thoughtful and interesting paper. The headings are our own.

#### TWO AUSTRALIAS.

The first strong impression in relation to this future which a journey through Australia conveys is that while we have always been in the habit of reading, and thinking, and talking of the continent as one, there are in truth two Australias—two Australias which are likely to modify each other profoundly as they grow to maturity side by side, and which are, also, likely to develop totally different social and political problems. One is temperate Australia, the other is tropical Australia. The life, the commerce, the labour, and consequently the politics, of tropical Australia will, of necessity, be cast in a different mould from the life, the commerce, the labour, and the politics of temperate Australia.

While the frontiers of the southern part of South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales, appear to be mere accidental lines of political division running through one area which is essentially the same, and therefore effaceable at will, the difference



between this district and Northern Queensland, to which no doubt the northern territory of South Australia and West Australia might be added, strikes the stranger as absolutely radical. The climate of New South Wales, Victoria, and southern South Australia, varies as does the climate of Yorkshire, Surrey, and Devonshire. Each has its characteristics upon which the inhabitants of each are fortunately ready to congratulate themselves, but to the passing visitor there seems to be only such difference between them as you might easily experience by spending Monday in one part of the United Kingdom and Wednesday in another. Whereas between them and Northern Queensland certainly—to take the extremes of the comparison—between Tasmania and Northern Queensland there is as much difference as between Italy and Russia. Throughout the whole journey from Adelaide by train, through Melbourne and Sydney, to the Queensland frontier, the features of the scenery are the same. Except where cultivation has modified the natural characteristics, grass and gum forests prevail. But from Brisbane northward the palm intervenes, the hills are clad with cedar, the aspect of the country is completely changed, luxuriant vegetation takes the place of grass upon the coast, and tropical jungle, dense and matted, replaces the scant-leaved gum tree. It is impossible to believe, as one looks from the windows of the train at the rapidly changing scene, that the habits, aims, and pursuits of the people who occupy the one country can remain for many generations identical with those of the other. The evidences of occupation which present themselves confirm the impression. Instead of the English-looking fruit orchards of South Australia, and the familiar cornlands and vineyards of Victoria and New South Wales, the cultivation which meets the eye in Northern Queensland is of emerald green tracts of sugar cane, ruddy acres of rose-tinted pineapple, low-growing rice fields, and seemingly limitless banana groves. Mango orchards are common; strange fruits, such as the pommelo, the chinee-wampee, the Brazilian cherry, and the rose-apple, mix with citrons and cinnamon, papaw and tamarinds, in the gardens. The sweetbriar hedges of New South Wales and the yellow flowering gorse of Tasmania entirely disappear, and slow flowing streams, of which the edges are plumed with palms and the water is often hidden by beds of pink or purple lilies, divide the land. The labourers who are engaged in producing these unfamiliar crops are no less strange than the natural features of the country itself. The wiry, auburn-haired Australian, whose pale, regular features and independent glance have impressed themselves as the characteristics of a distinct type in the southern colonies, gives place in the furrows of the torrid zone to the South Sea Islander, who has made his concession to civilisation by putting on the blue shirt and trousers issued under Government regulations, to black-hatted industrious Chinese, to Javanese and Japanese, Malays and Singalese, whose bright costumes harmonise with the landscape. And with the exception, perhaps, of the negro and the Indian coolie, who have not yet made good their footing on the continent, there are specimens to be found in the fields and sugar plantations of almost every type of people accustomed to work under a tropical sun.

#### CHINAMEN.

We can fully endorse all that Miss SHAW says with regard to the excellent work done by the Chinese labourers in Queensland, but we are glad to believe, from our own observation, that these men are not imported servile labourers. All that we have seen so engaged were free immigrants, and worked either for wages or by contract *made on the spot, and well understood by both parties.*

In those days, there were many Chinamen working at the gold diggings

on their own account, and it was noteworthy that they could make a living from the *tailings* left in great heaps by the white diggers.

The jungle which grows upon the richest soil, and defies the efforts of white men to clear it, is almost entirely cleared by Chinamen, who in return for the service are allowed to rent it at a low rate for a few years. During those years, they cultivate various fruits, flowers, and vegetables, many of which are introduced from China and Japan. Spices that look like fruits, fruits that taste like spices, and flowers of which the parent stock must have grown, one thinks, upon an Oriental screen, decorate their fertile patches, and in spite of a very limited market, the owners manage, as white men have told me with disgust, to make a profit where an Englishman would starve. When the short clearing lease is up, the Chinaman moves on to clear more jungle. He leaves a garden where he found a wilderness, and the European owner of the land is proportionately enriched.

Though this practice is common, and the presence of Chinamen in the north is marked by a constant extension of cleared land available for crops, I cannot remember ever to have heard their services recognised with an expression of gratitude. The fact that the service was valuable was not denied, but "I don't like a Chinaman" was universally considered to be a sufficient explanation of the absence of any thanks. There was no persecution of them, and apparently, in the north, no strong feeling of annoyance in connection with their presence in the community. The place they filled appeared, so far as I could see, to be that of excellent self-acting machines, who cleared the jungle even more efficiently and cheaply than the Mallee scrub of Victoria and South Australia is cleared by the roller and stump-jumping plough. The position of agricultural implements, and nothing more, is the position at present assigned to the servile races whose labour is made use of in the tropical parts of Queensland. Only, in accordance with the requirements of humanity, and it may be added also of common sense, the care of these living implements is made the subject of very thorough and minute regulations.

#### THE GREAT LABOUR QUESTION.

This brings us at once face to face with one of the problems in the solution of which the statesmanship of tropical Australia is likely to be forced to differ from that of temperate Australia. The business of the politician of temperate Australia will be to regulate the working of a constitution based upon universal suffrage, in which every member of the community, women probably as well as men, will exercise the rights and responsibilities of self-government. The business of the politician of tropical Australia will, on the contrary, in all probability be to find means by which the affairs of a large servile population may be justly administered by a relatively small, and consequently aristocratic, body of white men. In fact, the place of servile races in the world is one of the big questions of future history which temperate Australia may refuse to consider, but to which tropical Australia must join with Africa, Asia, and America in finding an answer.

The portion of Queensland of which I am speaking now, is principally the strip lying upon the sea-level between the waters of the Pacific and the wall of mountains known as the Old Coast range which divide it from the higher lands of the interior; but what is true of it applies in general terms to the whole extension of the tropical coast through the northern territory of South Australia and West Australia. It is the sugar district; it will some day become the cotton district, the tobacco and the rice district, the coffee and the tea district of an immensely rich Northern Australia.

There is no kind of tropical production which does not appear to flourish in profusion when it is introduced.

The most important of the present centres of cultivation are along the coast from Brisbane to Bundaberg and north of Bundaberg, round Rockhampton, Mackay, Townsville, the Burdekin Delta, the Herbert and the Johnstone Rivers and Cairns. This belt of about 1,000 miles practically limits the present area of sugar cultivation, and it is throughout the sugar belt that the cheap labour of alien races is employed. Details of the Kanaka question lie outside my subject to-night. I will only say, therefore, in passing, that the outcome of a very careful personal enquiry into the conditions of their lot has been to convince me that in no country which I have yet visited in any quarter of the globe, is the manual labourer so well provided for, so liberally paid, or so carefully safeguarded from oppression, as the South Sea Islander employed in Queensland. Whether it is good for the islands that the majority of their able-bodied population should go away to work upon the mainland is another question. I am not for the moment concerned with it. The difference between a Kanaka, a Javanese, or Malay labouring in the fields under a tropical sun, and a white man working under the same conditions, is as the difference between a humming-bird and a sick sparrow. The one is as bright as the other is dejected. White men can do profitably a good deal of the lighter and more open work, but when it comes to heavy work under the cane, those whom I have questioned have told me, more than once, that they do not expect to do much more than half the work of a Kanaka. On one small plantation, upon which they were employed in about equal numbers, and were all on task work, the Kanakas finished in the morning at half-past ten, and in the afternoon at three; while the white labourers, with exactly the same amount to do, worked in the morning until twelve, and in the latter part of the day until the moon rose. I was myself in the fields and noted the hour at which the respective tasks were finished. This fact, combined with the greater reliability of what is generally classed as servile labour, weighs more with employers than actual cheapness. It is a mistake to suppose that the Kanaka is extremely cheap. Employers calculate that they cost about £40 a year, or 15s. a week, each man and woman, and the extremely favourable conditions under which they are able to live for that sum are consequences of the climate and the cheapness of land and food. It seems, on general grounds, natural to suppose that labour which is produced in the tropics should be suitable to tropical requirements, and, without wishing to prejudge the immediate development of future events, it is to be noted, as one of the effects of the late reorganisation of the sugar industry, that the small growers, who are encouraged under the new system to take up land, have begun to realize that it pays them better to employ Kanakas and cultivate land for themselves than to work for wages, however good, under someone else. On the Herbert River and in the neighbourhood of Mackay, there are already settlements of men who, from the position of ploughmen, carpenters, and labourers, have become owners of farms of 100 or 160 acres in extent, and employ from eight to ten Kanakas apiece, earning for themselves a gross income of £800 to £1,000 a year.

#### A FUTURE PREGNANT WITH DIFFICULTIES.

After this somewhat glowing description, the writer of the paper honestly confesses that difficulties may arise in the future with a "race of white masters employing coloured labour freely over an immense area."

Here we are certainly at one with the writer, for from the experience of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and its predecessors, spread over a period of more

than one hundred years, we may confidently predict that—"when this system becomes universal,"—Slavery and the Slave-trade will again become an institution under the British flag, to be followed, doubtless, by similar forms of servile labour under the flags of France, Germany, and other European nations.

To prevent this state of things, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY must continue to use its utmost exertions, and in this it ought to command the support of missionary and other kindred bodies. Miss SHAW continues as follows :—

When this system becomes universal, and the present race of white labourers becomes converted, as it may, into a future race of white masters, employing coloured labour freely over an immense area, the real difficulties in connection with the regulation of the conditions under which such labour may be employed will be likely to arise. It is perfectly easy to understand, in the face of these, the reluctance with which the leaders of opinion in temperate Australia are disposed to regard any relaxation of the laws by which the immigration of alien labour is admitted. Men who are accustomed to govern themselves and to respect the self-governing power in others, have no wish to complicate their constitutional machinery by the introduction of an inferior mass of people who must be both governed and protected. But the developments of history do not wait permanently upon the will of statesmen, however able, nor, we may believe, upon the will of labour parties, however powerful. There are forces of nature so irresistible that the strongest opposition must go down before them, and if such forces are declaring, as some people think they are, for the employment of an inferior by a superior race in Northern Australia, the ability of North Australian statesmen will inevitably, before long, be engaged in finding the means by which the relations of the two races can be most desirably governed. It is scarcely possible to escape the conclusion that if North Queensland obtains the political separation for which it is agitating, the nucleus of the development of tropical Australia will have been formed, and the creation of other tropical Colonies, in which the habits of thought, the aims, and the traditions will differ widely from those of the existing Australian communities, will be only a question of time.

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### The Industrious Chinaman in Queensland.

IN another page will be found a review of Miss FLORA SHAW's paper upon Labour in Queensland, from which it is scarcely clear whether she classes Chinese labour with that of the Contract servile labour of the Kanakas or not. This reminds me that when I was residing in Queensland, about twenty years ago, before the passing of the law prohibiting, or greatly restricting the introduction of Chinese immigrants, a very large number of those people were gaining an excellent livelihood by *free* labour, especially by the formation of market gardens, and by fishing, both of which industries appeared to be mainly in the hands of the Chinese. As an instance of the indefatigable industry of these men, I may state that three or four Chinamen applied to me for the grant of a small patch of perfectly bare, hard land in the vicinity of a large factory, for the purpose of forming a market garden, to supply the white labourers. This was in the bush, some miles from any town. Their



request being granted, these industrious men in a very short time formed a *race*, or small earth embankment, for a distance of about a mile to a neighbouring mountain. On the top of this embankment they made a channel of clay capable of conducting the water from a brook into their dry plot. In this plot they dug a large hole which was always kept full of water, and from which, with broad wooden shovels, they tossed the water all over their ground. The result was that in a very few weeks this lately bare patch was filled with vegetables of various kinds, which were sold to the workmen at rates which would be considered cheap in Covent Garden. In gratitude for the assistance I had given them, they insisted upon keeping my table bounteously supplied *gratis*.

It always seemed to me a proof of great energy and industry, that in the heart of the dry and barren Queensland bush, these Celestials could grow splendid English cauliflowers and retail them at threepence a head, but such was the fact.

Whether Queensland was right in passing a law to exclude such men, whilst admitting the more delicately constituted inhabitants of the Southern Islands, is a question that her Government and our own must eventually grapple with. The Chinaman would no doubt freely work amongst the sugar canes, if properly paid—the object of the planter, evidently, is to obtain labour at a nominal cost—six pounds per annum and rations.

Moreover, the Chinaman would have free control of his own labour, and could make his contracts on his own terms, whereas the Kanaka, when once imported, could not leave his master under any pretence, during his term of three years.

CHAS. H. ALLEN.

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## Prince Henry, the Navigator.

IN a leader upon the fifth centenary of the birth of the Portuguese PRINCE HENRY, the *Standard* reminds us that :—

“While celebrating, with all due veneration, the five hundredth birthday of this illustrious Portuguese, one cannot forget that the African Slave-trade was begun during his lifetime. ANTONIO GONSALVEZ brought black men and gold dust from the Rio del Oro—a spot where the Spaniards have now a forlorn little settlement—and the Slaves were duly presented to POPE MARTIN V., who thereupon decreed all discoveries south of Cape Blanco to belong to his Faithful Majesty. The effect of this on the future of the Continent was most marked. To this decree is due the fact that Spain has only a few islands—not discovered by her sailors—south of Cape Blanco, and that, until the Reformation released England from obedience to Papal decrees, she did not obtain the slightest footing in that region. Indeed, until three years ago, we and Portugal never came into collision in that part of the world.”

## The Slave-Trade in Nyassaland.

DR. KERR CROSS, writing from the north end of Lake Nyassa on the 26th of December last to the Rev. HORACE WALLER, describes the activity of the Slave-trade in that district. Great credit is due to MWANJEWARA for giving information to BARON VON ELTZ and assisting in the capture of the caravan.

"The Slaver has been busy. The dry season is the Slave harvest time. People in England think the Slave-trade is a thing of the past, but we in the centre of Africa know differently. It is now considered dangerous for caravans to cross the lake (Nyassa) by the ordinary ferries owing to the gunboats, which are now moving about, so they take new routes and more circuitous. A month ago a large caravan of Slaves, drawn from the Mawemba country and from the Loangwa valley, passed north of us. So quietly did they travel among the hills that we knew nothing of the affair till the caravan was beyond us. They slept at the village of Mwanjewara, on the Wanyakins plain. Their route was through a valley in the Livingstone range of mountains across the south of the Magwangwara country, and so on to Kilwa on the coast.

"MWANJEWARA, the chief, not being able to cope with the caravan himself, sent by night across the lake to Rumbira Bay and apprised BARON VON ELTZ, the German governor. He acted with great promptitude, and with MWANJEWARA'S assistance surrounded the camp and took 211 Slaves and much ivory. He kept the Slaves and gave back the ivory, wishing to show that plunder was no part of his work. The Slaves were mostly women, boys, and girls. Many of these have been sent to Moravian and Berlin mission stations. We were offered some, but, owing to the fact that we are only three hours' journey from M'pata, I have not accepted them till I hear from our commissioner."

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## Missionaries and the Slave-Trade.

*The Nyasa News*, No. 2, November, 1893, printed at the Universities Mission Press, Likoma, Nyassaland, contains an article with the well-known signature, C. M., from which we make the following extract :—

But we visited Unangu for reasons other than to satisfy a curiosity we had long felt with regard to its locality. We have, in fact, matured and carried out a plan we have long had in view, for with the permission of the chief KALANJE, we have now established there a station of the Universities' Mission, and two members of our staff are, as we write, busily employed in putting up houses on the site we have had assigned to us. The population is very large, and there are some thousands of houses thickly sown all up and down the steep slopes of the mountain side. Unangu is rich in springs, whose waters never fail. Fat goats and fine cattle seem to abound ; though fowls are somewhat scarce. Good peas and beans are largely cultivated, nor are the usual cereals wanting. The side of the mountain that is most thickly sown with houses is that which faces the setting sun ; and here, and very high up on its precipitous incline, the chief KALANJE has domiciled himself. He seems to be the active ruler of the district, though another, older than he, named AKUNG'WESI, appears in some sort to share the honours of chieftainship. We are inclined to think favourably of KALANJE, and to be pleased with the reception he gave us. As to his Slaving propensities we prefer here to say very little.

Unangu is in Portuguese territory, and KALANJE's ivory caravans are among the very largest and most important of those that pass from the lake districts to the coast. In past years, many and many a time have we fallen in with them as they wended their way to the coast, passing through Masasi, Newala Majeje, &c., and finally emerging at Kilwa, Lindi, Kiswere, and elsewhere, on what is now the German sea board. KALANJE sports the Portuguese flag on his hill, and his caravans also find their way to the Portuguese coast possessions. We have considered it sufficient to tell him that it is no part of our duty as missionaries to report upon his doings, to authorities, English or Portuguese; while at the same time we have warned him that if his dhows are caught by the *Pioneer* and *Adventure* transporting Slaves from west to east of the lake, probably the cargo will be confiscated, and the dhows will be destroyed; though we will give him no occasion to charge us with showing him up, or being the cause of the capture. That in the event of summary measures being taken with his dhows by the gunboats should they be found transporting Slaves, the lives of our missionaries at Unangu would be exposed to considerable danger, is a fact to which they and all of us are fully alive; but risks like these we cannot shrink from running, and we are fully prepared to take the consequences of deliberately placing ourselves in a position where we become the guests of a host who some day or another may suffer punishment at the hands of those of our fellow countrymen who have determined, and are now prepared, to use force to put down an evil that we are not one whit behind them in protesting against and condemning. Said KALANJE to us: "Are you English one people with those who are trying to stop the Slave-trade in this country and on the lake." To which we replied, "Yes, but if you give us leave to live with you, the English on the lake shall learn nothing from us as to what goes on here: were we to inform against you, we should be taking an unfair advantage of the hospitality you show us."

The chief also made many pertinent remarks in the course of conversation with us. Here is one of them: "Since all the ivory is getting finished up, pray tell us what we are to do if we don't sell Slaves, in order to get cloth and other necessities from the coast." We felt that the Administration would be better able to answer this question than we were, and we refrained from generalities about "legitimate trade." We could not help thinking though, that where honest work and good pay for it is to be had, it would be an excellent thing for the idle do-nothing youth of this district if they could be induced to work for wages in those parts of Nyassaland where Europeans want native labour, and are willing to pay well for it. We venture to throw this out as a hint to others whom the matter may concern. For ourselves our work is before us, and we have to redeem, if we can, these Yao youths and their friends, from that odious veneer of "coastiness" that has in it neither morality or religion, nor even the seeds of anything that can be dignified by the name of civilization.

We confess to a feeling of astonishment on reading the statement made by an English missionary, "*that it is no part of our duty as missionaries to report upon his doings to authorities, English or Portuguese,*" and that, "*if you give us leave to live with you, the English on the lake shall learn nothing from us as to what goes on here: were we to inform against you we should be taking an unfair advantage of the hospitality you show us.*"

This, be it understood, is the compact made between English missionaries and a notorious Slave-trading African chief! We have long known and regretted that scarcely any information as to Slavery is ever forwarded from

Africa by any missionaries to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY; but we were scarcely aware that it was the custom of Englishmen to keep silence respecting the Slave-trade, if only the savage Slave-trader would permit them to reside in his country. We should be even still more surprised if we were to hear that the benevolent people at home, who subscribe to the funds for the maintenance of missionaries in Africa, are prepared to support a doctrine so different from that formerly promulgated by the "lion-hearted KNIBB" in Jamaica, who defied the planters to do their worst, and insisted upon exposing their iniquities. We want a few more such lion-hearted men in Africa.

## The Slave-Trade in West Africa.

### THE SOFA EXPEDITION.

FROM the official despatches, published in the *London Gazette*, of February 27th, we extract the following description of the terrible devastation of a large tract of country laid waste by the Slave-raiding Sofa tribe. A tract, measuring seventy-five miles by fifty-five, had been so far laid waste that only in two places had a single human being been left alive; the entire population is described as being killed or sold into Slavery. We would especially call attention to the fact that, in exchange for Slaves, the Sofas have been supplied with guns and ammunition from Freetown, the capital of the British colony of Sierra Leone—a flagrant violation of a most stringent clause of the General Act of the Brussels Conference! A strict enquiry will have to be made into this disgraceful disregard of the public law of Europe.

"In conclusion, it may be convenient to refer to the devastation wrought by the Sofas. This was far greater than I supposed, for the police reports that had been received in Freetown before the departure of the expedition only gave details of the depredations that had been committed in Kuniki and Kuranko. In addition, a large part of Bambara, the northern half of Sana Konno, and the whole of Sanda Konno had been laid waste. In the case of Bambara the Sofas had destroyed all the towns and villages to the north-east of Kommendi for a distance of about fifteen miles, and all those to the west and north-west for a distance of thirty-two miles. Within this area they had burned two large towns, and thirty-three smaller towns or large villages. In that part of Sana Konno which lay between the main road to Waima and the Bagbwe River I was informed that they had burned all the towns and villages. The route followed by the expedition, in this district, took it through twelve large villages, all of which had been destroyed. In Sanda Konno, the village of Fasardu was the only one that the Sofas had spared. Including the portions of Kuniki and Kuranko that had been ravaged, the operations of the Sofas covered an irregular quadrilateral, measuring about seventy-five miles from east to west, and about fifty-five miles from north to south. The part of this region traversed by the expedition was a complete desert, without a single human inhabitant, except at Yardu and Fasardu. The entire population had been killed or sold into Slavery, and it will take many years to repair the mischief done.

The Sofas, under PORO-KERRI, were simply Slave-hunters. With or without pretext they attacked in succession the surrounding tribes, taking the rice and other



crops for their own use, slaughtering the men, and seizing the women and children as Slaves. Once embarked on this career they were obliged to continue it, for they grew no food for themselves, and could only subsist upon what they seized from others. The traffic in Slaves was carried on by Mohammedan dealers from Porto Lokko, the Susu country, and Futa Jallon, and the majority of the Slaves were sent out of the sphere of British influence. In exchange for the Slaves the Sofas received arms and gunpowder from Freetown, which were sent through Porto Lokko to Bumban, and forwarded on by SULUKU, chief of that town. I was informed that several of the Mohammedans of Freetown were engaged in this traffic, and when it is remembered that NALFU MODU, a leading Sofa, had been for some months residing in the house of the Chief Interpreter of the Department for Native Affairs, himself a Mohammedan, it can scarcely be doubted that some of the officials of that department were privy to the arrangement, even if they did not profit by it."—*London Gazette*.

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### Quakers arrested by Slave-holders.

THE Anti-Slavery Quaker poet, JOHN G. WHITTIER, wrote the following stirring lines addressed to some members of the Society of Friends who had been arrested for treason against the Slave power. Those days are past and gone, but "Friends still maintain their noble position in the vanguard of the ceaseless silent struggle against the enslavers of their fellow-men." Ethiopia still stretches out her hands unto God, and though "*the age is dull and mean*," there are still left some who believe that "*the evil cannot brook delay*," and who, having set their hand to the plough, will not pause to look back. Well may they cry, "How long, oh Lord, how long?"

The age is dull and mean. Men creep,  
Not walk, with blood too pale and tame  
To pay the debt they owe to shame ;  
Buy cheap, sell dear, eat, drink, and sleep,  
Down-pillowed, deaf to moaning want ;  
Pay tithes for soul-insurance ; keep  
Six days to Mammon, one to Cant.

In such a time give thanks to God,  
That somewhat of the holy rage  
With which the prophets in their age  
On all its decent seemings trod,  
Has set your feet upon the lie,  
That man and ox and soul and clod  
Are market stock to sell and buy !

The hot words from your lips, my own,  
 To caution trained, might not repeat ;  
 But if some tares among the wheat  
 Of generous thought and deed were sown,  
 No common wrong provoked your zeal ;  
 The silken gauntlet that is thrown  
 In such a quarrel rings like steel.

The brave old strife the fathers saw,  
 For Freedom calls for men again,  
 Like those who battled not in vain  
 For England's charter, Alfred's law,  
 And right of speech and trial just  
 Wage in your name their ancient war  
 With venal courts and perjured trust.

God's ways seem dark, but, soon or late,  
 They touch the shining hills of day ;  
 The evil cannot brook delay,  
 The good can well afford to wait.  
 Give ermined knaves their hour of crime ;  
 Ye have the future grand and great,  
 The safe appeal of truth to time !

### The Slave-trade in Africa.

IN a recent article, *The Spectator* thus forcibly describes the horrors and barbarities of the African Slave-trade, as carried on with almost undiminished vigour throughout Central Africa, by half-caste and other Slave-raiders, such as FODI SILAH, the Mandingo Chief, whose nefarious career is likely soon to be cut short, on the West Coast. THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has for many years urged that the crime of man stealing should be treated as piracy (pirates were always called *hostes humani generis*).

"There are always two ideas which, whenever we hear of these affairs—that is, about every two years—come unbidden to our minds. The first of these is the perfectly awful extent of the system of kidnapping which we are endeavouring to put down. Englishmen have thought of it recently as flourishing on the coasts of the Red Sea, but it flourishes right through Africa, over a region certainly covering two million square miles, or a country in which ten Frances might be packed. The raiders, usually Arabs, but sometimes warlike negroes, operate in every portion of this territory, bits of which they every now and then actually depopulate. It is not too much to say that twenty millions of people—perhaps twice that number—pass lives of fear and misery on account of these scoundrels, unable to build or cultivate in peace, and hopeless of adopting any reasonably quiet system of political organization. There is no such aggregate of human misery left anywhere in the world, and so far from over-spending ourselves to put down the Slave-trade, we do not believe that we do half our duty. Certainly we ought to destroy every raiding chief within our reach, to make Slave-raiding piracy, and to insist in every treaty, especially with the Portuguese and French, that Slave-raiders must be arrested and surrendered on demand. They are enemies of the human race, like the old Moorish pirates, and deserve no more mercy."

## Lectures for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

HARRINGAY.—On January 3rd Mr. BANKS delivered a lecture on the African Slave-trade and the work of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, illustrated by lantern views, in the Primitive Methodist Church, Haringay, N. The Pastor, Rev. T. H. BICKERTON, and his co-workers, were most active in the preliminary arrangements, and in spite of the severity of the weather, there was a fair and appreciative audience.

CLAPHAM.—On January 4th Mr. BANKS lectured at the Young Men's Christian Association, Carter Home, Clapham. The room was fairly well filled, and the lantern views were gratuitously exhibited by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. WALKER, with his own apparatus. Mr. J. C. G. MURRAY presided.

WIMBLEDON.—On January 9th, under the auspices of the local Young Men's Christian Association, Mr. BANKS lectured at Wimbledon, in the Baths, Worple Road, a large room fitted up in the winter time most comfortably for meetings of all kinds. There was a large and most attentive audience, presided over by Mr. JOHN TOWNSEND, Chairman of the Local Board. The successful carrying out of the arrangements on this occasion were due largely to the exertions of Mr. LOMER, the Hon. Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.—On January 18th Mr. BANKS lectured at the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, Eden Street, Kingston-on-Thames. The active aid given by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. HILL, was of the utmost assistance to the carrying out of the proceedings. In the afternoon Mr. BANKS addressed a crowded audience of young persons, and younger children in charge of parents and guardians, presided over by Mr. BEDFORD MARSH, Esq., J.P. For more than an hour these young people eagerly and quietly listened to the story of the Slave-trade. Indeed, it seemed at the close as though the young people did not wish to leave the room, but desired to see and hear more about the poor Slaves. In the evening, in the same hall, Mr. BANKS addressed another crowded audience, of adults only, presided over by the Vicar of Kingston, the Rev. A. S. W. YOUNG, who, in his opening remarks, referred to the experiences of a near relative of his own, in years gone by, on board one of Her Majesty's ships, engaged in suppressing the Slave-trade in African waters. The attention of this large audience was unbroken from first to last. At the close the Vicar moved, and a gentleman in the hall supported the following resolution, which was carried unanimously and with acclamation: "That this meeting views with deep regret the fact that Slavery is allowed to exist in Zanzibar, and other territories under the protection of the British Crown; and it would earnestly express the hope that Her Majesty's Government will at once take steps to remove all legal recognition of the institution of Slavery in British protected territories, thus not only putting an end to the Slave-trade throughout those territories, but at the same time removing a stain on the honour of England. That a copy of this Resolution, signed by the Chairman, be forwarded to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

ISLINGTON.—On January 19th Mr. BANKS gave a lecture in the parlour of the Young Men's Christian Association, The Priory, Upper Street, Islington, Mr. JOHN J. DRYSDALE in the chair. The room was crowded, and the warmest interest was shown from beginning to end of the lecture. Mr. REES, the Hon. Secretary of the Association, had been indefatigable in his efforts to promote the success of this meeting. At the close of the meeting a resolution, similar to that passed at Kingston,

was formally moved, unanimously adopted, and signed by the Chairman, who undertook to communicate with LORD ROSEBERY in regard to it.

**BRIGHTON.**—On January 22nd Mr. BANKS visited Brighton, and lectured, with lantern views, in the lecture hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, Old Steine, to an overflowing audience. Thanks to the energy of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. MOULTON, and his volunteers in aid of the cause, between 4,000 and 5,000 illustrated handbills had been well circulated in the town, and this activity was rewarded by brilliant success, despite the uninviting and chilling weather. The chair was taken by JOHN F. WOODIN, ESQ., supported by DANIEL HACK, ESQ., a member of the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Through the kindness of the Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, a magnificent triple lantern, with skilful operator and all requisite accessories, were lent free of charge, thus considerably reducing the expenses of our society. After the Chairman's cordial and very appropriate introduction, Mr. BANKS lectured and exhibited for an hour and a-half to one of the most attentive and appreciative audiences he has ever had the good fortune to address. Mr. DANIEL HACK followed, and expressed his deep sympathy with the subject brought so forcibly before that large audience in so interesting a manner. He confessed that, as a member of the Committee of the Society represented by Mr. BANKS, he felt stimulated and encouraged to do more than he had hitherto been able to do in aid of the cause. Subsequently a resolution, similar to that passed at Kingston and Islington, was duly proposed and agreed to with cheers, the Chairman undertaking to write to LORD ROSEBERY concerning it.

**ARGYLE SQUARE.**—On February 1st Mr. BANKS fulfilled his first engagement in connection with the Swedenborgian churches in the metropolis, at Argyle Square Church, King's Cross, under the auspices of the Mutual Improvement Society, connected therewith. The Pastor and the Hon. Secretary and his colleagues were most attentive to all the preliminaries, and the agreement amongst them was that admission should be by ticket only at a fixed charge. Unfortunately, the members of this church live wide apart, in different suburbs, and the good intentions and hopes of the Pastor and his coadjutors were completely upset by a heavy and continuous downpour of rain. The Rev. JOHN PRESLAND had, therefore, to preside over a greatly diminished audience; nevertheless, the character and influence of it was such as to gratify the lecturer. A resolution was unanimously adopted, similar in character to that agreed to at the three preceeding lectures, Mr. PRESLAND promising to forward it to the Foreign Office.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—On February 5th Mr. BANKS had an audience that filled the large gymnasium attached to the Holy Innocents Church, Dalling Road, Hammersmith. In spite of the rather unruly conduct of a part of the audience, the proceedings were not discouraging.

**HACKNEY.**—On February 6th, Mr. BANKS, under the auspices of the Band of Hope, lectured in the Schoolroom of the Baptist Chapel, Mare Street, Hackney, Mr. J. F. SORRELL in the chair. There was a very good and intelligent audience, who throughout the lecture were most attentive. Mr. SORRELL moved a resolution addressed to LORD ROSEBERY, on lines similar to those already reported, and Mr. B. R. BALFOUR, of Drogheda, a Corresponding Member of our Society, seconded it. In the course of his remarks he said that, as a Member of the Church of Ireland, he was very pleased to be able to attend an Anti-Slavery meeting in an English Baptist schoolroom. He also referred to the fact that his father, when Lieutenant-Governor of the Bahamas, had officially assisted in carrying out the abolition of Slavery in those



islands, sixty years ago. The resolution was put to the meeting, and unanimously adopted, with applause.

**BRISTOL.**—On February 7th our lecturer received a cordial welcome by a crowded audience at the Friends' Meeting House, Rosemary Street, Bristol, Mr. HENRY GRACE presiding. For some weeks previously a Committee of six local Friends had been nominated to arrange for this lecture, and to advertise it and promote its success. It must have been very gratifying to Mr. C. WHITE and his colleagues in this volunteered preparatory work to witness such a splendid assembly on a night when a heavy drizzle and a gale of wind might have kept, and doubtless did keep, most of the Friends at home. Mr. BANKS's illustrations were brilliantly exhibited by a splendid double lantern, supplied by Mr. HUSBAND, of Bristol, and his lecture met with marked attention. At its close, Mr. HENRY GRACE moved, and Mr. GAYNER seconded, a resolution, calling on our Government to do all in its power to suppress the Slave-trade in all those African territories now under the protection of the British Crown. This was carried unanimously, and subsequently the chairman forwarded the resolution to LORD ROSEBURY, with a suitable letter, calling special attention to it.

**SIDCOT.**—On February 8th there was another intensely crowded audience at the Meeting House, at Sidcot, called together by Mr. ASHBY of the Friends Schools, to hear a lecture on the Slave-trade. A lime-light lantern and all the required appointments were supplied and superintended by Mr. ASHBY and one or two of the students. Mr. S. B. PUMPHREY, of Churchill, presided. The boys and girls and teachers from the schools made up about half the congregation, the other half comprising all classes of people resident in Sidcot, Winscombe, and neighbourhood, and were much interested in the lecture. Mr. BANKS was hospitably entertained at the schools by Mr. and Mrs. ASHBY.

**KINGSDOWN.**—On February 15th under the auspices of "The Society for the Recognition of the Brotherhood of Man," Mr. BANKS lectured again in Bristol, in St. Matthew's Schools, Kingsdown, the Vicar, the Rev. W. B. DOHERTY in the chair. The large school-room being fairly well filled. The local Secretaries, Miss C. FOX and Miss SOWTER, worked zealously to enhance the success of this meeting.

**FOREST GATE.**—On February 22nd under the auspices of the Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Association, connected with Woodgrange Wesleyan Chapel, Forest Gate, Mr. BANKS lectured in Woodgrange Hall, a spacious building, to a large and singularly attentive audience. The Chairman cordially entered into the objects of the lecture, and a resolution similar to those already referred to was put and carried unanimously.

**WOLVERHAMPTON.**—On February 27th, through kindly and zealous efforts made by Mr. ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, of Birmingham, arrangements were made for Mr. BANKS to give a lantern lecture in the lecture hall of the Young Men's Christian Association, Wolverhampton. The local active workers in this matter were Mr. GEORGE SANKEY, the honorary secretary, and the assistant-secretary of the Association; and to their exertions the fact is due that the room was filled with an attentive audience. During the proceedings Mr. ALBRIGHT made some appreciative remarks concerning the lecture, and supported the policy of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY adopting so interesting a method of disseminating information upon Slavery and the Slave-trade. He also alluded to the noble part taken by Mr. JOSEPH STURGE in the early career of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. At the close of the lecture Mr. BANKS received three offers for repetitions of his lecture in Wolverhampton and neighbourhood.

February 28th.—Mr. BANKS, by request of the Borough Surveyor, lectured in St. Paul's School (Church of England), Wolverhampton, to a crowded audience.

*A Local Report of one of the Lectures.*

"UNDER the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, Mr. FREDERICK C. BANKS, of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, lectured at the Baths, on Tuesday evening, January 9th, on "The Present Condition of Slave Life and the Slave-Trade in Africa," illustrated by lime-light lantern views. Despite the uninviting character of the weather, there was a large and appreciative audience. The chair was taken by Mr. JOHN TOWNSEND, chairman of the Local Board.

Mr. BANKS, by means of a well-defined map of the entire continent of Africa, first made the audience aware of the enormous area over which Slave-raiding and Slave-selling are still carried on by the Arabs. Then followed scene after scene, depicting Slave-raiding and Slave-hunting; gangs of men, women, and children on the Slave-march to the market or the coast; Slaves at work; Slaves flogged, and in other ways punished by cruel masters; men and women yoked with heavy chains, or by heavy branches of trees cut down, and trimmed to the shape of a gigantic "Y," the forked end riveted under the chin or at the back of the head of the miserable captives; Slaves at sea, battened down on the lower decks of dhows like herrings in a barrel; Her Majesty's cruisers searching for Slaves in creeks and rivers; Slaves set free from galling bondage by British officers, and their gallant crews, etc., etc. In the course of his remarks on each scene, Mr. BANKS gave a graphic account of nearly every phase of Slave life, a traffic costing the lives of half-a-million of helpless Africans every year, owing to the constant and relentless murders of many, and the numberless deaths from privations and sufferings of the most cruel description. He invited English mothers to reflect on the destruction of child life, describing, amongst other barbarities, the swinging of weary, sick, or helpless children round and round the Arab captor's head, and the dashing out of the brains of these little ones, under the very eyes of their mothers, against trees, rocks, or the hard ground, and their lifeless bodies cast into the lake or river as food for crocodiles, or into the jungle to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey. Reference was made to the past labours of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and its victories in many parts of the world, and to its present work in regard to stopping the Slave-trade in Africa and elsewhere, one of the principal means of doing that being the abolition of the legal status of Slavery in Zanzibar, which the society was earnestly attempting to bring to pass by a due exercise of the moral power of this country, and the action of the Foreign Office wherever its influence can be felt and successfully exerted. The lecturer pleaded earnestly for help for the society on the part of his hearers, by their voices, their prayers and their generous contributions towards the cost of the noble work done and to be done. The salient points of the lecture throughout were warmly applauded.

After some further remarks from the chairman, and by Mr. LOMER, of the Young Men's Christian Association, to whose personal exertions, aided by his co-workers, the success of the lecture was largely due, Mr. BANKS proceeded to show, on the necks and shoulders of several young men, the various methods of captivity, grass ropes, heavy iron chains, small and large wooden yokes, etc., after which the proceedings terminated."—*Wimbledon Gazette*, 13th January, 1894.

Several further lectures will be delivered in March and April, at various places.

## Slave Trade in Morocco.

WE have received the following report of the Slave-trade as carried on in one of the sea ports in the Empire of Morocco.

The Slave-trade is carried on publicly at this port and in the markets of the adjacent provinces. Slaves are brought hither from the southern provinces, arriving generally from the amoogarat or fairs held periodically in Soos ; as a rule one at the end of March and a second at the latter end of August, to suit the convenience of the Arabs travelling the desert. They are also brought from Morocco City and from the Interior markets. Those of them already domesticated change ownership by public and private sale. The number thus sold in town does not exceed on an average about five or seven per week, the trade having of late years decreased considerably, but in the provincial markets the number disposed of is, of course, above these figures. The only difference noticeable within the last few years with regard to their sale, is that they are no longer paraded, as was the custom, through the market and public streets of this town, preceded by an auctioneer shouting the last bid made. The practice now is for the seller to engage an auctioneer who, in many instances, deposits them in some house in town, or with some family, until he can find buyers. He then takes them to the buyer's house for inspection and examination. They are occasionally taken to the wool market, where women assemble for the purpose of buying wool for domestic use, and they are seen there by intended buyers, as well as at another secluded part of the town where they can be examined. The Government Revenue Collector, receives a duty of five per cent. of the value on all sales, namely, two and a-half from the seller, and two and a-half from the buyer,—excepting only purchases made by the officials, who are the largest buyers, and who forward them to the northern markets and to persons at the Court.

The Slaves are, as a rule, not badly treated by the townspeople, but the inseparable evils of Slavery, such as the parting of children in tender years from their parents, and the forcible separation of husband and wife are often witnessed : for if a native Slaveholder gets into hard circumstances there is very little hesitation in dividing the family to suit his pecuniary views, or those of the buyer, or the then state of the market.

Many instances of free girls of a dark and delicate complexion having been sold into Slavery, are known to me. I have been instrumental in obtaining their freedom, and of their being returned to their parents. Frequently Slaves apply to the various Consulates here complaining of cruel treatment of their masters and mistresses—particularly to the British. All that can be done at present is to obtain for them a change of ownership, for which they are grateful. Even in this operation one has to guard against fictitious bids, emanating indirectly from their original owners.

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## Slavery in British Protectorates.

### "OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US."

THE Geneva Anti-Slavery organ, *L'Afrique Explorée et Civilisée* speaks very strongly of the retrograde policy of the English Government, in placing the inhabitants of Witu again under Mohammedan law, with its legalisation of Slavery, after having entered into an agreement with the people of that province, which placed them under British India Law, and guaranteed them their freedom, and the Editor thus sums up his article, whilst adding a

quotation from another periodical, the *Revue Générale de Droit international Public* :—

“A Protectorate has no *raison d'être*, and has no claim to the recognition of nations, excepting so far as such protectorate serves for the progress of the people which have been on the road to civilisation. The protests of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY appear to us well founded and extremely useful.”

The quotation from the *Revue Générale de Droit International Public* is as follows :—

“For a long time past European nations have considered it a sacred duty to carry out reciprocal obligations which they may have assumed, without taking advantage, in order to free themselves from such obligations, of those political crises, which may be caused by changing the administration from one hand to the other.” [Alluding to the change of administration of the country from the Imperial British East Africa Company to the British Government.]

“This principle deserves to be still more extended and applied to extra-European affairs, as it is an essential condition of credit in international relations. Without it all security would disappear, and with it all confidence in transactions between nations. There is, moreover, in this case, a circumstance which touches us more closely. The country of Witu has not ceased to be under the British Protectorate by the fact of the arrangement concluded with the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR : is there not rather here a real infraction by England of her international obligations, from the fact of her lending herself to such a transaction? And even admitting that the practices which have been resuscitated by the effect of the provisional cession of Witu to the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, may not fall actually under the clauses proscribing the Slave-trade, is it not natural to think that the Protecting Power is bound not to tolerate, throughout her Protectorate, those acts which she knows are contrary to the primordial rights of humanity, against which she has contended with all possible zeal, and which, if they were to be attempted in her own country, would be hunted out and punished by her as unpardonable crimes?”

It is well that the English public should know that the fact of Slavery being tolerated under British rule is viewed by foreign nations with the reprobation and astonishment which it deserves.

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### Plantation Labour in Nyassaland.

“LIFE AND WORK” of December, 1893, published at the Blantyre Mission Press, contains the following somewhat ambiguous statement regarding Plantation labour in Nyassaland.

We reprint the paragraph, and anxiously await a fuller account of the “*pretty new kind of legal fetter*,” to which the writer desires to call the attention of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

“Several hundreds of Atonga have been imported for the plantations. A very pretty new kind of legal fetter has been designed for them; and the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will have to rack its brains to discover what Slavery really consists of. The problem is growing in complexity and the “personal equation” now of the critic must be largely taken into consideration.”



### Africa—A Prize Poem.

IN 1890 the late Cardinal LAVIGERIE offered a prize of twenty thousand francs, which he had received from an anonymous donor, for the best work upon African Slavery. A committee of eminent jurists was formed, amongst whom we find the names of M. JULES SIMON, the DUC DE BROGLIE, the MARQUIS DE VOGÜÉ, and other members of the Academy and Institute of France, &c.

A prize of 10,000 francs has been gained by M. EDOUARD DESCAMPS, Professor at the University of Louvain, a Senator and member of the Royal Academy of Belgium. We had the pleasure of meeting this distinguished Professor at the Anti-Slavery Conference, convened by Cardinal LAVIGERIE, in Paris, in September, 1890, and heard more than one eloquent oration from him against the horrors of the Slave-trade. M. DESCAMPS has been good enough to forward us a copy of his prize poem, which consists of a drama in five acts, of which we are led to form a high opinion from the short time we have been able to bestow upon this elaborate composition, containing more than one hundred pages.

One of the reviewers quoted by M. DESCAMPS says:—"We may say of this book what EDOUARD LABOULAYE lately said of the romance of Madame BEECHER STOWE—*Uncle Tom's Cabin*—which gave the signal for emancipation of the Slaves in the United States—is much better than a good book, it is a good drama." Those of our readers who would like to study this latest Anti-Slavery poem, may be glad to know that it is published by M. CHARLES PECTERS, Louvain, Belgium, and we are glad to note that it has already passed into a third edition. Mr. H. M. STANLEY speaks very highly of the fidelity with which the scenes and the people are portrayed. The distinguished explorer writes: "Your descriptions of the cold-blooded, hideous cruelties of HASSAN,—a type of Arab in no way exaggerated—are well calculated to renew in us the horror of this detestable Slave-trade, which still exists, and which will exist so long as we permit the importation of arms and of gunpowder into Africa."

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### Parliamentary—Uganda.

JUST going to press we are able to insert a short speech, made in the House of Commons, by Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE, M.P. Mr. PEASE is a member of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY:

Mr. J. A. PEASE warned the Government that, in the event of their deciding on a policy of evacuating Uganda, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and those who took an interest in the diminution of Slavery, would probably deem it their duty to oppose the Government, believing that such a policy would encourage the Slave-trade. If, also, the Government proposed to extend the jurisdiction of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR over Uganda, they would be disposed to adopt a similar course, because the result would be to place that region under Mohammedan law, and to deny the right of protection to those inhabiting a British Protectorate.

## The Trade of British East Africa.

### ITS IMPORTANCE AND PROSPECTS.

UNDER this heading Mr. GEORGE S. MACKENZIE, a Director of the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY, read an interesting and instructive paper before the London Chamber of Commerce on the 22nd February, 1894. Mr. MACKENZIE considers that no quarter of the globe is more deserving of our attention at the present time, than the British possessions in East Africa as a future market for Manchester and other English manufacturing centres. He contrasts its present condition with that of the time, not many years ago, when Sir JOHN KIRK went out as the representative of England in Zanzibar, and when it took something like six months to communicate with that outlying and little known African island.

When the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY despatched its first caravan into the interior, it was necessary to have 500 armed men to protect it from the Slave-raiding Arabs, and it took six months to cover the distance between Mombasa and the Victoria Nyanza. At the present moment, although as yet we have no railway, the same journey is easily undertaken by small parties of thirty or forty porters, and despatches from Uganda are delivered in London within two months.

Mr. MACKENZIE states that up to 1886, the trade of Zanzibar was almost exclusively in the hands of British Indians. We could almost fancy that he might have said that this included the Zanzibar Slave-trade, for though we would not for a moment accuse these worthy merchants of being Slave-traders, we have an idea that they are the bankers of the country, and that every Arab expedition to the interior, is financed by them. Whilst Mr. MACKENZIE modestly declines to say whether Chartered Companies are now under the altered conditions, a necessity or not, he asserts that without doubt the expenditure by them of private capital has given this country the commanding position which she now occupies in Africa. The services of these Companies he therefore considers claim for them not only recognition and credit, but the legitimate support of the nation.

The facilities offered to the German Protectorate by the establishment of a direct line of steamers, supported by the Government, give German traders a greater advantage over English merchants, and divert exports and imports into German hands which Mr. MACKENZIE considers would belong to England if it were not that all passengers, mails and cargo, have to be transhipped at Aden.

One very striking fact in Mr. MACKENZIE's suggestive paper is the extraordinary change that has recently come over the population of British East Africa, even during the three years in which he resided at Mombasa. Men and women, who may be counted by millions, now, instead of going about naked, pride themselves on being clothed in Manchester and Glasgow cloths and prints. "We have here," he says, "an extensive market, not only for

cotton and woollen goods, but for railway and telegraph material, cutlery, crockery, corrugated iron for buildings, tin plates and utensils, iron, brass, and copper wire, agricultural and other implements.

He then goes on to describe the many products that can be exported with profit—to say nothing of ivory, the export of which we do not wish to encourage, as it leads to the slaughter of the finest quadruped in Africa. He presents us with a list containing copra, gums, and oil seeds, &c., also *cloves* from the islands—we wish that Mr. MACKENZIE had stated that these were all Slave-grown, under British rule—and he thinks it is only a question of time when cotton, jute, hemp, rice, &c., may be added to the long list.

Altogether Mr. MACKENZIE gives us a very hopeful view of what may be done in the way of opening up Africa to legitimate commerce—thus supplanting the Slave-trade—and all this without the employment of military force, as was strongly impressed upon LORD ROSEBURY by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, when it introduced into his presence a very remarkable deputation of merchants and politicians interested in the welfare of Africa, and begged him to consider the importance to the native population and to this country of placing Uganda under the protection of Great Britain.

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### A Black Knight.

SIR SAMUEL LEWIS, who has just been raised by QUEEN VICTORIA to the dignity of a "Knight of the most distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George," an honour usually reserved for Her Majesty's diplomatic envoys, colonial governors, and premiers, and for generals and admirals, is a full-blooded, coal-black negro, who, having taken his degree at the London University, is now a member of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone. It is the first time that a British Order of Knighthood has ever been conferred upon an African, or that a woman of colour has attained the right of being addressed as "My Lady." Yet this is by no means the only manifestation on the part of QUEEN VICTORIA of her regard for the negro race. Two years ago an old coloured mammy from the Free State of Liberia, who had saved up her money shilling by shilling for the purpose of going to England to see the Queen, was graciously received by Her Majesty at Windsor, invited to take a seat beside her (even the greatest statesmen and grandest ladies in the land are obliged to remain standing in their Sovereign's presence), and was treated in a manner that led a Foreign Minister who happened to be at Windsor at the time to remark plaintively that during all the years that he had represented his Government at the Court of St. James, he had never been accorded anything like so much consideration. In France, the whole nation, irrespective of party or politics, turned out the other day to welcome home the Conqueror of Dahomey, the only general who has covered himself with military glory since the days of the Franco-German war. Yet this general, who aroused so much popular enthusiasm that his Government became alarmed, and that his prospects of taking the place of SADI CARNOT as President of the Republic were openly discussed in the Parisian press, is a mulatto and a native of the British West Indies, a fact which did not prevent him from being invested with the Star of a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour.—*San Fernando Gazette.*

## The Nyassa Company.

AMONGST the various schemes for opening up Africa to legitimate commerce is the Portuguese Chartered Company, incorporated last March with a capital of £1,000,000 sterling, and entitled the Nyassa Company. One of the objects of the company is to build a railway from the Bay of Tunghi to Lake Nyassa. The account lately published of the company's work would show that it has a vast opportunity for doing good, and we note that the governor of Cape Delgado attributes the slow progress of the country not to any fault of the climate or lack of any of the natural riches or fertility of the soil, but rather to lack of capital and enterprise, raids by Slave traders, and the excessive cost of transport. which latter the Nyassa Company hopes to cheapen and facilitate.

Whilst welcoming any *bona fide* scheme for civilising Africa, it will be necessary to keep a very close watch upon all forms of labour in the making of the railway, the working of coal and gold mines, &c., in order to expose any attempt to employ Slave labour under one of the specious names for contract work to which we have so often called attention, as practised in Portuguese African territories.

According to the report issued by the directors, the survey lately made reveals the existence of many valuable products.

The company's railway survey expedition has found a feasible route from Tunghi on the coast to the interior, for the greater part of the distance following fertile, well-watered, and populous valleys, affording easy gradients for the railway, which will cross the pass on the Lake Nyassa coast range of mountains at a summit level of only 2,950 feet. About 200 miles from Tunghi the railway will traverse the extensive Itule coal field, which has been located by the company's mining expedition in the Lugenda Valley, exceeding 300,000 acres in area. The product is reported to be semi-bituminous steam coal suitable for locomotives and ocean steamers, and as such coal commands high prices at Aden, Zanzibar, and other ports of the Indian Ocean, this coal field is expected to prove of great commercial value to the Nyassa Company and to the railway. From other coal fields in the Medo district, which is near Pemba, samples have been analysed by Mr. THOMAS HUGHES, public analyst for the boroughs of Cardiff and Newport, and reported to contain 63.49 per cent. of carbon, and evaporative power, 11.93 lb. of water per lb. of coal. At several points along the route malachite of rich quality has been discovered, and along the Rivers Lurio and Lugenda rich placers of alluvial gold have been found. One sample of quartz from the hills to the north of the River Lurio has been assayed by Mr. FREDERIC CLAUDET, and produced 1,470 oz. of gold to the ton, while another sample gave 36 oz. to the ton. The assay of malachite yielded 56.80 per cent. of copper. The directors of the Nyassa Company say that they received the above quartz and malachite through the Portuguese Royal Geographical



Society of Lisbon, but wish it understood that they regard these assays, and the alluvial gold in the River Lurio, merely as *prima facie* indications that intelligent prospecting by their mining surveyors will be rewarded by the discovery of good, payable reefs, similar to those already found near the Lugenda River, in the company's territory, by its mining expedition.

The country which the company seeks to develop comprises about 100,000 square miles, and contains along the sea coast many excellent harbours, especially the Bay of Tunghi and the Bay of Pemba, the latter described in a British Admiralty report as being one of the finest harbours on the coast, sheltered from all winds, and with sufficient water for large vessels.

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### A Great African Pioneer.

NOT long ago, there died a famous hunter and pioneer in Africa—a man of sterling character and genuine kindness—who could make the proud boast that he never had to raise his hand against a native. This man was OSWELL, the friend of LIVINGSTONE, with whom he was travelling when the latter had his arm crushed in the jaws of a lion. He it was who was able to identify LIVINGSTONE's body before it was laid in Westminster Abbey, for he recognised the position of the wound that so nearly closed the great missionary's earthly life. In a notice of Mr. OSWELL's late interesting volume on his African travels and hunting adventures, a weekly paper thus writes :—

"He (OSWELL) was altogether a remarkable personality—a dear friend of LIVINGSTONE's, a naturalist as well as a hunter. His frankness, his fearlessness, his gentleness, his complete unselfishness (to quote from Sir SAMUEL BAKER), ensured him troops of friends among his fellows, but he was literally an object of adoration to the natives. His was the first rifle that disturbed the secular calm of those solitudes, now gone for ever. He was the first hunter to live for months and years amongst the wild people whom the march of our hungry civilization (?) is exterminating.

Of them he has left this golden record, "I never had occasion to raise a hand against a native; as far as I can remember, I never lost anything by theft." Of late years, it has been customary to assume that a certain brutality is necessary to the full equipment of a successful African traveller.

OSWELL rebuts this assumption, for his treatment was marked by exemplary consideration. Nor did the seed of kindness fall on stony ground. When LIVINGSTONE and he were journeying to the discovery of Lake Ngami, they promised their native followers that if they were successful they would not take them farther than the lake. But the Englishmen, bitten with *Æstrum* of exploration, determined to push on alone, but, true to the spirit as well as the letter of their promise, they offered to let their native helpers return. LIVINGSTONE told them that they could not ask them to face the danger of the unknown country, though if they liked to come they would be glad. For a few minutes there was a dead silence; then a head man rose and said, "What you eat, I can eat; where you sleep, I can sleep; where you go, I can go." A cry broke from the whole crowd, "We will all go," they said, and they went. "Do you think after that," says OSWELL, "it was much matter whether our brother was white or black?"—*Here one is irresistibly reminded of Ruth's answer to Naomi.*—Ed. Reporter.

## An Old Slave Census in Zanzibar.

WE publish from former Blue Books what we believe to be the last official record of the condition of the Slave population in Zanzibar, the estimated number of Slaves, and the activity of the Slave-trade. These figures are of ancient date, but we believe that a very similar state of things still exists in Zanzibar and Pemba, although these Islands are now under British protection. In any case, it would be monstrous if Slavery were to be allowed to continue in any British Protectorate. For the convenience of our readers we print the questions and answers side by side, although they appeared in different Blue Books :—

On the 30th of May, 1843, the Earl of Aberdeen, addressed the following queries to Her Majesty's Officials in Slave-holding countries, and received the accompanying answers from Captain HAMERTON, then representing the British Government in Zanzibar.

### QUESTIONS.

1. What is at present the amount of the population of the State in which you reside, and what is the number of whites, and of coloured people, forming that population, distinguishing males from females, and free people from Slaves? What was the amount of the population of the same State in the year 1832, and what was the amount in the year 1837, distinguishing the particulars in the case of the present time?

2. Is it supposed that any Slaves have been imported into the country within the last ten years, either direct from Africa, or from other quarters; if so, how many in each year?

3. Is the Slave protected by law equally with a free man in criminal cases?

4. What protection is there by law to a Slave against ill-conduct on the part of his master?

5. Is the evidence of a Slave received in a court of law;

### ANSWERS.

1. In the Island of Zanzibar and the Island of Pemba the population is estimated at about 450,000, of which only 19 are white—American and English merchants; but three white women, one the wife of a merchant, and the other two are concubines brought from England by the captain and sailing master of the Imaum's ship *Sultaneh*; about 800 Arabs, and 800 Banians and Indian Mohammedans (free copper-coloured men); females as three to one man; about 400 free Arab women; the number of free black women unknown, but it is very small. About one-fifth of the whole of the population are considered free. The population has increased since 1832 to 1837, and has since increased. The people are growing rich, and able to buy more Slaves to cultivate cloves, the chief article now cultivated, and from which considerable profit is derived in a few years. The cultivation of sugar is increasing, and of course a much greater number of Slaves will be required.

2. For the last ten years Slaves have every year been brought into Zanzibar from the coast of Africa, and from Madagascar at least 20,000 every year.

3. The Slave is supposed to be equally protected by law with the free man.

4. Not much; every person punishes his own Slave. If the Slave could escape and apply to the Imaum he would be protected.

5. A Slave's evidence would be received in law.

## QUESTIONS.

6. Is the Slave well or ill-fed, well or ill-treated?

7. Is the Slave considered generally to enjoy as good health and to live as long as a free person?

8. Is the Slave population considered to be on the increase or decrease; and from what causes?

9. Is the manumission of Slaves of common occurrence?

10. Have the laws and regulations in respect to Slaves become more or less favourable to them within the last ten years?

11. Is there in the State in which you reside, a party favourable to the abolition of Slavery? And what is the extent and influence of such party? And is such party on the increase or otherwise?

12. Is there any difference in the eye of the law between a free white and free coloured man?

13. Are free coloured men ever admitted to offices of the State?

14. You will state whether you have drawn your answers from public documents, or from private information, and you will state whether any periodical census is taken of the population within the district of your Consulate; and what was the last period at which it was taken?

## ANSWERS.

6. The Slave is well fed in general, and ill-treatment or cruelty on the part of the master is of very rare occurrence.

7. No; the deaths amongst the agricultural Slaves are very great—from 22 to 30 per cent. yearly.

8. On the increase; and as the cultivation of sugar increases more Slaves will be required.

9. Of uncommon occurrence.

10. No alteration whatever.

11. No party favourable to the abolition of Slavery.

12. None whatever.

13. They are frequently; but in most cases to situations of little importance.

14. I have drawn up the above answers from my own observation, and from very frequent conversations on these subjects with the most intelligent of the people I have met with here and in Arabia during the last four years. There are no such things as public documents amongst the people of these countries, nor have they any records whatever. Such a thing as a census of the population was never known or heard of by these poor people.

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## The Congo Railway.

ON the 4th of December last the new railway on the Congo was formally opened with some appropriate ceremony—for a distance occupying some three hours in transit, which, of course, is only a small portion of the whole length. On another page we have said something respecting the Slave labour upon which the Railroad Company appear to depend. From the report presented to the General Meeting of the Company on 17th January, *L'Afrique Explorée et Civilisée* extracts a few figures, which show the fatal and laborious nature of the work, which we quote in their own words:

## TRANSLATION.

“Who could have foreseen that the battalions of black workmen, recruited under such painful circumstances, would so soon be decimated by disease and desertion? Those who remained at the works became completely demoralised and incapable of all serious labour. A few figures, terrible in their silent eloquence, will tell us more than long explanations.

"Since the commencement of the works, 7,000 coloured labourers have been engaged, 2,000 of these remain upon the unhealthy works; of the other 5,000, 1,500 have been repatriated, and 3,500 *are dead or have deserted!* All nature appears to be in revolt! A hard rock, mostly bare, resisting powder and explosives. Here and there, where a little earth is met with, morbid emanations render the air unbreathable, and, as the only possible point for landing, the wild shore of Matadi, where it is necessary to construct workshops, a fort, and a town. Moreover, all that had to be created amidst difficulties of approach of all kinds, with white superintendents incessantly struck down by fever.

"There is one single compensation, very consoling in the midst of all these disagreeables—a staff of engineers, devoted beyond all praise, and who have never spared either their time or their talents. To all these difficulties must be added the ill-success of Chinese coolies, and the absolute failure to use transport oxen. The coolies have, in fact, been of no more use than the West Indians brought at a great expense from Jamaica. All the oxen imported from Walfish Bay died, without any possibility of clearly defining the reason of this mortality, which some attribute to the tsetse fly, heat, etc."

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## Review.

"FREDERICK HILL,

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FIFTY YEARS IN TIMES OF REFORM."

WE are pleased to know that the subject of this interesting book is still living and in good health, although in his ninety-first year. The very interesting recollections contained in this autobiography have been edited, with additions, by his daughter, Miss CONSTANCE HILL, and bear evidence of the great care and marked talent bestowed upon them during a period of something like three years. The frontispiece contains a life-like etching, after a portrait in chalk, of the author of the autobiography, by his daughter, Miss ELLEN G. HILL, the well-known artist, whose pictures are so frequently seen in the Royal Academy, and other exhibitions.

Mr. FREDERICK HILL, the younger brother of Sir ROWLAND and of Mr. DAVENPORT HILL, is the last survivor of the five remarkable HILL brothers, and is ranked, in virtue of his long connection with prison reform, amongst what are now termed Penologists. We, however, are proud to claim him as an Abolitionist, as, indeed, were some of his brothers; for, notwithstanding the demands upon his time during the many years devoted to prison matters, especially when acting as Government Inspector, he found leisure to study the history of the Abolition movement. Amongst those whose names appear in this autobiography we find many who were famous in Anti-Slavery annals:—LORD BROUGHAM, WILBERFORCE, EARL GREY, ELIZABETH FRY, LLOYD GARRISON, FREDERICK DOUGLAS, and others. Space will not allow us to do more than call the attention of our readers to this extremely interesting narrative, containing the events in the life of an actor in one of the great reforms of the day—that of prison discipline—and who up to the present time is a regular subscriber to the funds of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and a warm personal friend of our own.



## Obituary.

### Sir Gerald Portal.

THE death of Sir GERALD PORTAL in the prime of early manhood, cutting short (on the eve of GORDON Day, as it chanced) a career of the greatest promise, is a tragic reminder of the tribute which Africa exacts from its white conquerors. No passages in Professor DRUMMOND's charming book on "Tropical Africa" are more striking than those in which he describes how capricious and yet how remorseless, how constant and yet how unaccountable, the exaction of this tribute is. "The malaria," he points out, "spares no man; no kind of care can do more than make the attacks less frequent; no prediction can be made beforehand as to which regions are haunted by it, and which are safe." Captain LUGARD points out in mitigation of the appalling mortality of Europeans in Africa that many of those who go out, especially missionaries, are physically weak and quite unacclimatised. But this is not always the case. It is one of the peculiarities of the African tribute that it takes off strong lives as well as weak. Not the pale and studious missionary only falls a victim to the malaria; but a man of the strength, the spirit, and the African experience of Sir GERALD PORTAL also. "It is not the least ghastly feature of this invisible plague," Professor DRUMMOND continues, "That the only known scientific test for it at present is a human life." And hence it is that all across Africa there stretches "an awful chain of English graves." In all directions this chain of graves or memorials of deaths extends. But of all the plague-stricken routes into the interior, none is more disastrous than that from Zanzibar. "STANLEY started by this route on his search for LIVINGSTONE, two white men with him; he came back without them. CAMERON set out by the same path to cross Africa with two companions: before he got to Tanganyika he was alone." Indeed, Professor DRUMMOND calculated at the time he wrote that "of all the expeditions which have gone into the interior by this fatal way, every second man, by fever or by accident, has left his bones to bleach along the road." One PORTAL already—Captain PORTAL, Sir GERALD's eldest brother, who accompanied his expedition to Uganda—has paid this dread tribute; and now the leader of the expedition himself, who had done so much honourable and useful work for his country, and from whom his country expected so much more in the future, has in the very flower of his manhood fallen a victim to the same relentless plague. Africa, it is said, is becoming a European dependency. Perhaps. But there is no relaxation as yet in the tribute of European lives which she levies from her dividers and rulers.

Will there ever be? Or is the malarious coast-belt of Africa a fixed frontier—a barrier of nature which European races will never be able to overleap? Such, we know, is the view which commends itself to many of the most thoughtful minds. The existence of this malarial frontier forms, indeed, one of the fundamental grounds on which Dr. PEARSON declares the limits of the higher races to be unchangeable, and thereon proceeds to develop his sombre forecasts of the "National Life and Character" of the future. It may be so; but so little is as yet known of African fever, or indeed of malaria generally, that it seems superfluous to ascribe to the resources of science and civilisation a permanent inability to cope with it. The history of the Roman Campagna—alternately the seat of densely-populated and prosperous cities, and the haunt of malarial solitude—suggests how largely natural conditions are modifiable by human civilisation.

Meanwhile, there is a point of importance for practical politics in the latest payment of African tribute. One of the baffling characteristics of malarial fever is that, when once the system becomes infected with it, it often develops long after the malarial region is left behind. One cannot say, therefore, with any certainty where

or when Sir GERALD PORTAL contracted the disease which has so cruelly carried him off. But it is, at any rate, a striking fact that the Imperial Commissioner despatched to "the Pearl of Africa," or the African Garden of Eden, as we have sometimes been taught to regard Uganda, should have come back from his mission only to die, while his brother, who accompanied him, left his bones in Uganda itself. It would not be surprising if use were made of Sir GERALD PORTAL'S death to discredit the forward policy, which in his life he was understood to advocate. But there are two sides to the matter. The reported healthiness of the Central African uplands is not inconsistent with the heavy death-roll of African exploration. That tribute of human lives is levied, as we have seen, as a toll on passing the malarial coast-belt. The question is how to escape the toll on the way. There is much to be said for Captain LUGARD'S answer: "*A sine qua non* for successful colonisation in Central Africa is a rapid means of transit from the sea to the uplands." The death of Sir GERALD PORTAL thus points it may be said, to the urgent necessity of the Uganda Railway.—*Westminster Gazette*, 26th January, 1894.

#### M. VICTOR SCHÆLCHER.

WE regret to record the death on Christmas Day last of the celebrated French abolitionist, M. VICTOR SCHÆLCHER, in his 90th year.

When twenty-three years old, M. SCHÆLCHER visited the West Indies, Mexico and United States, returning to Europe an abolitionist resolved to devote his best energies to bring about the emancipation of the Slaves in the French colonies, and for many years he espoused the cause of the negro in the press.

In 1840 M. SCHÆLCHER visited Hayti for the purpose of observing the condition of the people who had been freed by the action of TOUSSAINT-LOUVERTURE and his colleagues.

Turkey, Egypt, Greece and the Soudan were visited by him with the object of exposing the evils of Slavery and the Slave-trade. Returning from Senegal full of the horrors of the hunts for Slaves for the French Colonial and American markets, M. SCHÆLCHER was appointed Under Secretary of State for the Marine and Colonial Departments in the Revolutionary Government of 1848. At this period he and his colleagues were in frequent communication with the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, consulting as to the results of the abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies. A commission was at once appointed to study the best means of bringing to an end the system of Slavery in the Colonies of France, and within two months a decree was passed which brought about immediate emancipation without some of the difficulties which the English abolitionists had encountered. At once receiving the Franchise, the liberated negroes of Guadelupe and Martinique, elected him as their representative in the Versailles Assembly. Exiled by the Empire, M. SCHÆLCHER spent much of his time in England, and was a member of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, attending many of its meetings. At the downfall of the Empire M. SCHÆLCHER returned to France, becoming a Life Senator, but he frequently visited England, and was always ready to receive any of the members of the Society and to give them the benefit of his vast experience, and counsel on questions which related to the action of the French with respect to Slavery and the Slave-trade. It is said that nothing pleased him more than to hear himself spoken of as the French Wilberforce.

# The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

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Richardson, J. E. ... ..	..	10	..	Thomasson, J. P. ... ..	10	..	..
Richardson, J. N. ... ..	1	1	..	Thompson, Richard ... ..	..	10	..
Richardson, Wm. ... ..	3	..	..	Thorpo, Fielden ... ..	..	10	..
Robin, Mrs. ... ..	3	..	..	Tisdall, Mrs. H. C. ... ..	..	10	..
Rowe, Mrs. & Miss ... ..	..	10	..	Toller, F. G. ... ..	..	10	..
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Rowntree, Wm. ... ..	1	1	..	Vigne, H., & Sons, <i>per A. J. Allen</i> ... ..	3	3	..
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Satow, Ernest M.—C.M.G., British Minister, Tangier ... ..	1	1	..	Waterfall, Wilson ... ..	1	..	..
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Saunders, Edward... ..	..	10	..	Wheeler, the late Fredk. ... ..	5	..	..
Saxelby, Mrs. ... ..	..	10	..	Whiting, J.... ... ..	1	..	..
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Sewell, J. S. ... ..	1	1	..	Williams, R. B. ... ..	1	..	..
Shaen, Rev. Richard ... ..	1	..	..	Williamson, Mr. and Mrs. A. ... ..	1	..	..
Shewell, Miss ... ..	1	..	..	Williamson, Mrs. ... ..	..	10	..
Shipley, Alfred ... ..	1	1	..	Wilson, Caleb S. ... ..	1	..	..
Simpson, A. ... ..	2	2	..	Wilson, J. W. and Mrs. ... ..	1	1	..
Simpson, Mrs. Joseph ... ..	1	..	..	Wilson, John ... ..	..	10	..
Smart, D. S. ... ..	..	10	6	Wilson, Mrs. ... ..	..	10	..
Smith, Alderman F. ... ..	1	..	..	Wilson, W. S. ... ..	1	1	..
Smith, Samuel (M.P.) ... ..	5	..	..	Wippell, C. S. ... ..	..	10	..
Snell, Mrs. C. ... ..	..	10	6	Woodhead, Henry & Lucy ... ..	1	..	..
Snell, Rev. C. D. ... ..	..	10	..	Woods, Miss ... ..	1	..	..
				W. W. ... ..	10	..	..

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
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Munster Park Wesleyan " ...	1	1	"	Hall, South Tottenham ...	"	10	"
Cambridge Heath Congregational				Claylands Congregational Chapel,			
Chapel ... ..	"	10	"	Clapham Road ...	1	1	"
Bromley Road Baptist Chapel, Lee	1	"	"	St. Mary's Church, West Ken-			
Public Rooms, St. Neots, under				sington ... ..	2	12	9
auspices of New Street Baptist				Y.M.C.A., Brixton ... ..	"	14	7
Chapel ... ..	2	9	6	" Southwark ... ..	"	5	9
Baptist Chapel, Church Street,				" Stratford ... ..	5	18	4
Edgware Road ... ..	1	4	"	Baptist Chapel, Hornsey Rise ...	"	5	8
Wesleyan Chapel, Vale Royal,				Y.M.C.A., Charlbury ... ..	5	6	"
Tunbridge Wells ... ..	6	9	"	" Aylesbury ... ..	2	7	6
Primitive Methodist Chapel,				Baptist Chapel, Erith ... ..	1	2	"
Lavender Hill ... ..	"	5	"	Unitarian Church, Islington ...	"	15	3
Primitive Methodist Chapel,				Y.M.C.A., Dorking ... ..	1	18	3
Stepney Green ... ..	"	7	6	" West Chelsea ... ..	"	13	"
Unitarian Church Schoolroom,				Presbyterian, Tooting ... ..	"	15	"
Highgate ... ..	1	"	"	Congregational Literary and Im-			
Girls' High School, Sutton ...	5	2	6	provement Society, Hitchin...	2	4	3
Christ Church (Presbyterian),				Baptist Church, Clarendon Street,			
East Dulwich ... ..	"	10	6	Camberwell ... ..	"	13	4
Unity Church, Islington (Unitarian)	"	12	"	London City Mission, Fulham ...	"	18	8
St. Mary's (Church of England),				Friends' Meeting House, Stoke			
Shepherd's Bush ... ..	3	15	"	Newington ... ..	1	9	"
Friends' Meeting House, Hanover				Baptist Chapel (Paradise Row),			
Street, Peckham ... ..	2	2	1	Waltham Abbey ... ..	1	18	"
St. Peter's Hall (Church of England)				Y.M.C.A., Chelmsford ... ..	4	11	3
Greenwich ... ..	"	10	3	" South Woodford ... ..	2	"	6

"Remember them that are in Bonds."

## FORM OF BEQUEST.

"I give and bequest the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be paid (Free of Legacy Duty), out of such parts of my personal estate as can be lawfully applied for that purpose, unto the Treasurer for the time being of

**The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,**

to be at the disposal of the Committee for the time being of the said Society."

## BRITISH AND FOREIGN Anti-Slavery Society.

**OBJECT:** *The universal abolition of Slavery by moral, religious and pacific means.*

SHORTLY before his death, the late EDMUND STURGE drew up a Memorandum respecting the future work of the Society, which he maintained would be largely increased owing to the action of the ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE AT BRUSSELS.

It is not generally known by the public that the convening of that Congress was owing to the long-continued efforts of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to obtain a Convention of the Great Powers of Europe, with a view to a consensus on measures for the suppression of the Slave-trade. On behalf of the Society, Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P., in an able speech, moved that an address should be presented to the QUEEN for the convening of such a Conference. This motion was carried without a division, and HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN requested the KING OF THE BELGIANS to convene a Conference at Brussels of all the Powers signatory to the Berlin Conference. After long and difficult discussions, complicated by conflicting interests, a practical agreement was arrived at.

Although this favourable result has been obtained, there will be entailed on the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY an extension of its work and of its responsibilities such as it has not known since the days of its conflict with British Slave-trade and with British Colonial Slavery; for now the partition of Africa among the Great Powers of Europe resolves itself into its partition among a few great commercial companies. The long experience of the Society in the past affords the Committee little ground for believing that without the exercise of its utmost vigilance the provisions of the General Act of the Brussels Conference will be truly carried into effect. There is but too much reason for believing that some, at least, of the administrators of these companies, under the pressure of immediate exigencies, will resort to some sort of compulsory labour, issuing in a virtual Slavery, under whatever name it may be called, and a vested interest therein not soon to be abolished.

The Committee views the Act of the Conference of Brussels as of immense value, constituting an embodiment of the law of nations, to which it can always appeal. But, in order to do this with effect, the duties, and with these the charges of the Society will have to be very largely increased.

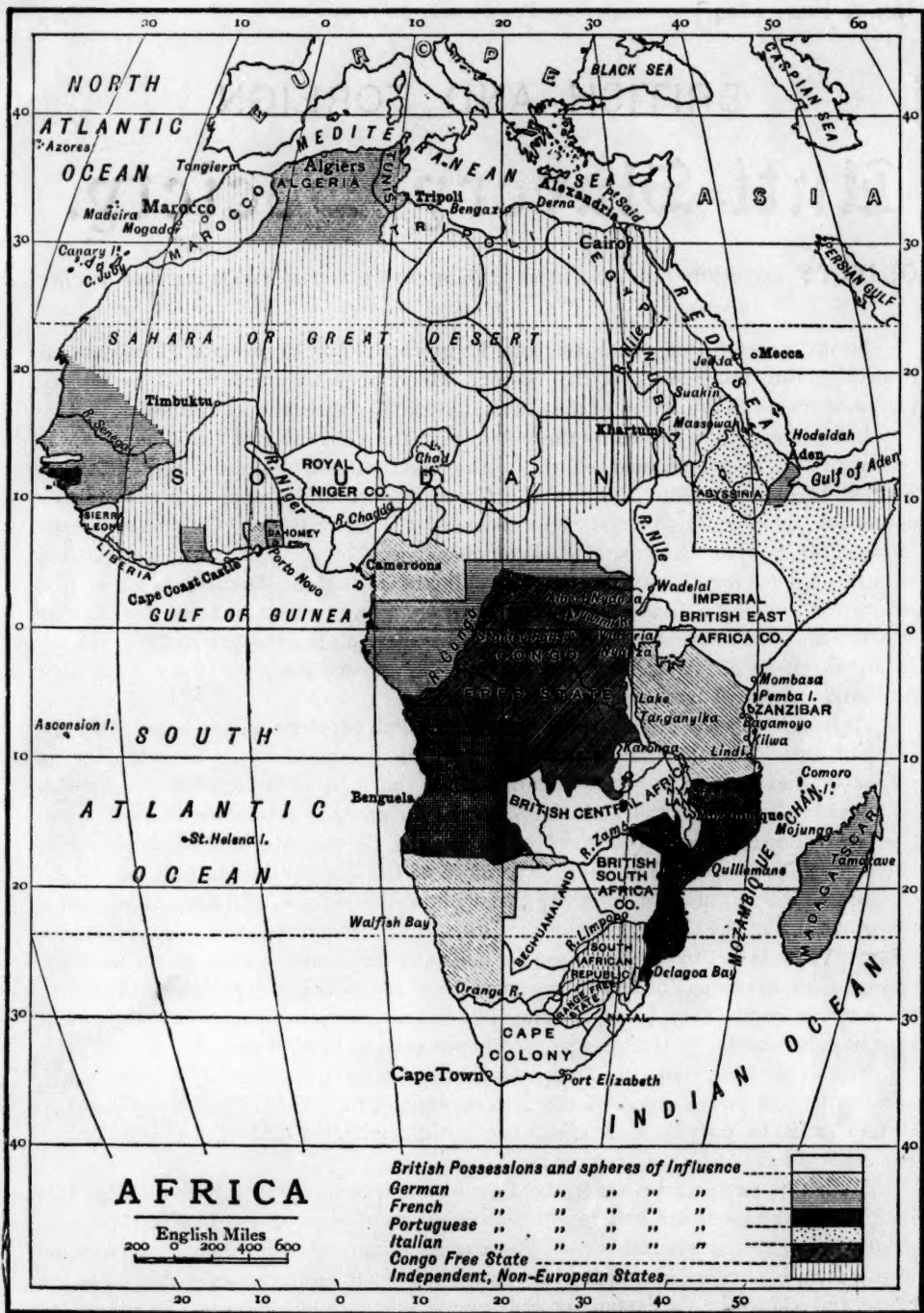
With this prospect before it, the Committee is anxious to increase the roll of its Members by moderate and regular subscriptions of, say, £1 rs., more or less, on a greatly enlarged and general basis. The special advantage of an increase of revenue in this form is obvious, in that it will secure a wider and more extended interest in the cause, and add to the Parliamentary and general influence of the Society in addressing the various Governments interested in Africa.

Cheques, crossed BARCLAY & Co., should be sent to—

**CHARLES H. ALLEN,**

*Secretary.*

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.



MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

Printed by ABRAHAM KINGDON & NEWNHAM, 12, Finsbury Street, Moorgate, E.C.